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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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6 August 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CLERICALIST IDEA OF UNITED EUROPE DENOUNCED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 May 85 p 5

[Article by Ondrej Danyl, Institute of Scientific Atheism, Slovak Academy of Sciences: "Clerical Variant of European Integration"]

[Excerpts] A prerequisite for European unification and the installment of the rule of capital is the integration of Western Europe. In order to create a favorable atmosphere in European public opinion, the bourgeois information media have been promoting cosmopolitanism in the garb of so-called Europeanism, with the aim of stripping West European nations of their interest in self-determination and force upon them the belief that national borders and state sovereignty are merely remnants of the past. The historical development of European nations is being falsified through one-sided exaggeration of the alleged inevitable historical, ideological and cultural kindship of the Central and East European nations with those of Western Europe. This effort includes a diverse mixture of often contradictory theories which at times appear as cosmopolitanism, at other times as nationalism. Basically, these are bourgeois theories used to sow dissent in the states of the socialist system and isolate the Soviet Union from the other socialist countries.

The position of religious organizations on European integration problems relies on theological dogma. Many church dignitaries regard Europe as one of the most important centers of international contradictions, consequently, they have in recent years been focusing attention on this continent. They often speak of the historical and cultural links of the socialist countries (except the Soviet Union) with West European political and cultural orientation. They would like to impose on European countries their conviction that only the clerical variant of what is called pluralism can provide a sort of spiritual incentive in the integration efforts.

According to DIE ZEIT, such spiritual integration is typified by the programs and policies of the pontificate of John Paul II. The focus of his frequently-expressed thoughts on his concern for Europe, is the "common anchoring of the entire European civilization in Christianity." Clericalism is to dominate the integration process and gain a leading role in it. During his first visit to Poland, the Pope openly voiced his hopes for a "Christian Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals." In addition to reservations on the permanence of the post-war arrangement in Europe, he recommended that

in the search of fundamental European unity people should continue to turn to Christianity.

Catholic Church officials credit Christianity with the formulation of such spiritual values as the ideals of equality and brotherhood, the search for truth and social justice which represent Europe's "spiritual strength." The Crusaders' wars and the cruel practices of the Inquisition perpetrated by the church against the bearers of such values, show precisely the opposite. There are many historical and contemporary examples of breaches of these values on the part of the church.

The Christian unifiers of Europe demand the establishment of an "all-European consciousness for all nations." The unified, classless, religious "consciousness" is presented as a guarantor of peace, security and genuine cooperation in Europe. Under the guise of this "spiritual unity," however, lurk clericalist dreams of growing authority and influence of Catholicism. On many occasions, they have made it quite clear that they have no intention in the future to respect the materialist world outlook and political persuasion of citizens of the European socialist nations. Meanwhile, they do not deny their desire that a "Christian Europe" be noncommunist.

In their fostering of the European integration process, the clericalist forces assign great importance to the so-called European Parliament. In the elections for this association they try in various ways to force their views on the electorate and otherwise manipulate it to their liking. Such was the case during the elections in mid-June 1984. The results were meager for the clericalists, low participation among believers and disinterest among people in general. Contemporary ideologues of "Europeanism" follow in the footsteps of the reactionary Pan-European movement whose dream of the United States of Europe had a distinctly anti-Soviet flavor. After the pro-American French politician, Jean Monet, the standard bearer of "Pan-Europeanism" is Otto Hapsburg who claims to have "relinquished" his rights to the throne and, having become a FRG citizen, was nominated and elected to the European Parliament as representative of Strauss' Christian Socialist Union. He is simultaneously chairman of the "Pan-European Union." In both "bodies" he claims to represent Bavaria, Germany and all of Europe. His sidekick who also speaks "in the name of Central and East European nations," is emigre Jiri Pelikan.

Exploitation of the so-called European Parliament as an organization which allegedly expresses the hopes and aspirations of people in the socialist countries, is nothing new. Already its predecessor, the so-called European Council, a parliamentary association of West European officials, had a so-called corps of experts for non-member European countries, composed of emigres and other rightist oriented politicians serving as "experts" on anticommunism.

Cooperation with the European Parliament is also sought by representatives of the Slovak clerico-nationalist emigration, assembled in the so-called World Congress of Slovaks, and they would like to have at least observers in Strasbourg. The former secretary general of the clerico-fascist Slovak Hlinka Party, J. Kirschbaum, as well as other emigres, brought up the matter



of their cooperation in the implementation of the "great idea of European integration" with CDU/CSU deputies in the European Parliament. In practical terms, the Slovak emigres explained to these Germans how best to interfere in the internal affairs of the CSSR.

The CDU program states that its "European policy is oriented toward overcoming the growing influence of the Eastern bloc." At the CDU congress in 1976, the CDU general secretary K. Bidenhopf and CSU chairman F. J. Strauss attempted to justify the importance of the provocative slogan of "out of love for Germany, freedom instead of socialism." Strauss proclaimed: "We must join all our forces to prevent the birth of a socialist Germany in a Marxist Europe." The statement of the CDU/CSU parliamentary fraction called "Our German and Eastern Policy," claims that the policy of peaceful coexistence does not lead to the strengthening of world peace but rather to expansion of the "Soviet empire." The authors outline their goals as introduction of a "world order" through the formation of a "community of free Europeans, a political and economic unification of Europe."

At a time when all progressive citizens of European nations remember the causes and consequences of the rise and fall of fascism, church and lay clericalists again want to resurrect the politically and historically corrupt idea of a "united Europe." These representatives of Catholic clericalism and emigre clerical organizations dare to speak in the name of our nations and their future, while presenting an intentionally distorted picture of the results we have achieved during the last 40 years and of the plans which we are implementing.

Clericalism, as part of the other anticommunist forces, does not want to fall behind in the antisocialist crusade, as it never had in the past. For this reason, it adapts its clericalist variant of an anticommunist unification of Europe to the current ideological and political trends in the militant circles of the West.

9496

CSO: 2400/458

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR-HUNGARY COOPERATION DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 85 p 7

[Text] The 20th session of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation ended in Budapest on Friday with the signing of a memorandum. The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Deputy Chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the Czechoslovak portion of the committee Rudolf Rohlicek and the Hungarian delegation by Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Hungarian portion of the committee Jozsef Marjai.

The discussions emphasized the need to be guided in all cases by the resolutions of the economic council of the CEMA member countries at the highest level in June 1984 in Moscow, which also have a basic importance for further overall development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and Hungary.

The committee stated that the goals of the 19th session had been fulfilled or implementation of them is continuing. It pointed out with satisfaction the good progress with work on construction of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian enterprise Haldex-Ostrava.

The 20th session evaluated the existing approach to coordinating the national economic plans of the CSSR and Hungary for the years 1986-1990 and the work program of its final stage. It was decided to begin preparation of a long-range program of scientific-technical cooperation of the two countries up to the year 2000.

At the session it was agreed to carry out discussions on extending the existing specialization and cooperation agreements and creating new ones so that their results can enter into the coordination of the plan for the next 5-year plan. In doing this, an important task will be working out a proposal for cooperation in the production of the Skoda passenger car and accelerating discussions on opportunities for cooperation in the production of integrated circuits with the goal of creating the conditions for the formation of a joint enterprise.

The committee likewise discussed the development of foreign trade relations of the two countries, as well as current questions of mutual cooperation in agriculture and the food industry in the years 1986-1990, with special attention to the program for utilizing biomass and the related biotechnical

processes. It also took up the progress of the joint construction project for a system of water works for Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros.

The Czechoslovak delegation on Friday visited an enterprise for the production of microelectronic parts and equipment in Budapest. It was concerned mainly with the development of cooperation with the designated enterprise Tesla Piestany in the production of integrated circuits and the prerequisites for the creation of a Czechoslovak-Hungarian enterprise under the working name of Interchip as soon as possible.

After that, the Czechoslovak delegation returned to their country.

6285

CSO: 2400/347

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## POLITICAL PLURALISM REJECTED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jun 85 p 4

[Article by Docent Pavol Mestan, PhD, CSc, lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee: "On the Waves of Pluralism"]

[Excerpts] Political pluralism can be identified as one of the features of the ideology and politics of so-called democratic socialism. Its theoreticians developed the conception of an artificial social structure that is to ensure some sort of bourgeois "mass democracy," while ignoring the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This bourgeois "mass democracy" is to come about as the widescale combination of large social groups which, by virtue of their size and authority, are able to influence political development and to exert pressure on the state. (In other words, this is a distortion of the ideas of Friedrich Engels who revealed that the state, in formations with class antagonisms, is a powerful organization of the wealthy class, to protect it from the indigent class.)

In the practice of some capitalist countries, "mass democracy" thus results in a seeming diffusion of power between the state and countless groups, strata and associations that differ from one another in terms of wealth and income, economic and social interests, ideology, political affiliation, and other criteria. When power is diffused in this manner, the main question is no longer the vertical relationship of superiority and subordination between those who govern and the governed, but--allegedly--the practically equal political subjects' horizontal relationships that arise in the course of seeking the optimal forms of regulating society's life.

The existence and formation of additional groups, strata and associations that constitute a "harmonious society"--to use the terminology of democratic socialism's ideologists--are regarded as the most important criterion of a pluralistic society. These ideologists deny that there are class antagonisms under the capitalist social system.

The British theoreticians include Harold J. Laski, a Labourite, who was the first to use the term "pluralism." As a part of reformist theory, he developed the theory of the pluralistic state, the cornerstone of the theories regarding pluralistic democracy. He emphasized that there exist, in addition to the state, also organizations that are independent of the state and perform important social functions, often better than the state because--in his opinion--

they adapt to the specific needs and interests of their members. The state does not have a monopoly of power; it shares power with other organizations that exercise real power in various matters, jointly with or without the state. Thus the individual is linked also to these organizations, in addition to being linked to the state. Democracy under such an organizational arrangement then has a "pluralistic" nature and is diffused among a multitude of subjects and associations. This is the mode of "liquidating" bourgeois society's traditional class structure; consequently, class struggle of the proletariat is an "absurdity."

Through this "reinstitutionalization" of social and political life, the popular masses are tied to capitalist reality. Contrary to the claims of the advocates of this theory, bourgeois society's structure is not broken up but is preserved.

Marxists regard the question of the state as the main question of revolution in the period of imperialism and socialist revolution. The state's importance lies primarily in uncovering the interests of the class that is the dominant class under the historically evolved mode of production. The state is a tool with which the dominant class realizes its main economic and political tasks; it is the main instrument of power and control for this class.

Bourgeois political scientists use the pluralistic political system to advertise and idealize the "democratic" system of parties, a system that enables the parties to form partnerships and to compete with one another. The parties have to fight, and indeed do fight, one another for votes and political power in the state.

Typical of the basic idea underlying the bourgeois interpretation of the category of "political system" are its classless perception of politics and of the political system, and its reliance on the idealistic theory of society. Bourgeois theoreticians investigate the political system divorced from the real sociopolitical processes, and they reject the theory of classes and class struggle, socialist revolution, and dictatorship of the proletariat.

The system of parties underscores the perfunctory democracy that is typical of capitalist society. Bourgeois ideologists are attempting to conceal the fact that economic and political power is in the hands of the bourgeois class. They conceal this fact with the illusion that the democratic legal norms, the citizens' right to vote and to hold office, have proven that power is in the hands of the people, whereas this is no proof at all. The conceptions of social partnership and participation are linked to the pluralistic system. Democracy is developed through these phenomena. It allegedly enables everyone to share in the exercise of political power. Social reformist theoreticians cite the so-called principle of representation as proof that the working class, too, has its place within the capitalist political system.

Their contentions are nothing new. They start out from views that emerged in the growing working-class movement and misinterpreted the Marxist-Leninist logic of revolutionary changes. These are the views that the working class is able to acquire ever-greater influence in capitalist society, without revolutionary upheavals. In the end these views led to Marxism-Leninism's programmed revision, represented by Eduard Bernstein. He rejected Marx's conception

of the logic of revolutionary changes and concluded that capitalism could be transformed gradually into socialism, by way of bourgeois democracy.

In the countries of really existing socialism there are no objective bases for "political pluralism," because the distinctions among the classes and strata are disappearing gradually. This is reflected in the socialist political system led by the Marxist-Leninist party. At the same time, realization of the leading role of the working class, and its growth depend on the activity of the party and of the entire socialist political system. On the principle of collectivism, the political activity is developed not only of the party's members, but also of all members of the political system's individual components. The working class and its vanguard are thus able to fulfill the leading role in a one-party system as well as in a multiparty system.

But as Professor Ye. D. Modrzhinskaya of the Soviet Union points out (and as our own experience in Czechoslovakia indicates), a multiparty system can exist in a socialist country only if the following conditions are met:

"(1) Within the multiparty system, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party must be ensured. (2) All the parties must adopt socialist platforms. (3) And all the parties must represent the interests of the workers."

The conception of "democratic socialism" that most parties of the Socialist International adopted as their ideological platform starts out perfunctorily from "ideological pluralism." The Socialist International's declaration, entitled "Goals and Tasks of Democratic Socialism," states in part:

"Socialism is an international movement that does not require in any respect a completely identical approach. It is all the same whether socialists derive their convictions from the results of Marxist analysis, from social analysis based on other principles, or from religious and humanitarian motives."

The principle of ideological pluralism has its roots already in the "classical" revisionism of Eduard Bernstein, but mainly in the theories of the Austro-Marxists.

Present-day right-wing revisionism borrows from Austro-Marxism not only the "plurality" of Marxisms and the plurality of the "models" of socialism, but also the differences between Leninism as an allegedly Eastern (or Asiatic) Marxism and the so-called Marxisms of the Western countries. It is clearly evident that the subject of entire revisionist theory is the devaluation of Leninism with its specific revolutionary road to socialism. By denying the unity of Marxism and Leninism, the authors of revisionist theory are seeking to substantiate the pseudosocialist nature of their theories.

The class nature, function and objectives of revisionism have not changed, but its theoretical principles have. The growth of the authority of Marx's teachings does not permit a modified repetition of the old slogan "Back to Kant," i.e., turning away from Marx to one of the bourgeois philosophers. Therefore, even though it may seem paradoxical at first glance, modern revisionists are advocating a return to Marx. Today their common slogan is "Back to Marx," but

to the "authentic," "original" or "real" Marx. The revision of Marxism-Leninism is being undertaken in the name of Marx himself.

The present revisionistic conception of Marxism is an attempt to "open" it for the integration of bourgeois ideology. All the "open," "modern" and "humane" Marxisms are nothing other than petit-bourgeois revisions of Marxism-Leninism.

The recognition of Marxism in the guise of a "return to Marx" does not hinder the right-wing revisionists in their efforts to distort Marxism and to deny its influence in the right-wing revisionists' own countries. To the contrary. The diversity of Marxisms, and the attempts to divorce Leninism from Marxism are falsifications of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution, and of the doctrines regarding dictatorship and the party of the working class. These are attempts to prevent the working class from fulfilling its historical mission, and to preserve capitalism as an eternal and immutable social system.

1014

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY MEETS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jun 85 p 2

[Excerpt] Prague, CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AGENCY. At their joint session yesterday in Prague, the foreign affairs committees of the Federal Assembly's two chambers, the Chamber of Nations and the Chamber of People, debated the government bill before the National Assembly to ratify the treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Mongolian People's Republic on dual citizenship. This treaty was signed last July, in Prague and Ulan Bator.

Vratislav Vajnar, the federal interior minister, introduced the bill. He mentioned the rapid expansion of fraternal relations between the two countries in all areas. This expansion necessitates the legal resolution of problems associated with possible dual citizenship. The submitted treaty is based on the same principles as the similar treaties that Czechoslovakia has concluded with other socialist countries: Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and the Soviet Union. The treaties enable the persons concerned to choose the citizenship of one or the other signatory country. In the resolution that they adopted, the deputies expressed agreement with the wording of the treaty and recommended its ratification by the Federal Assembly. The members of the two chambers' foreign affairs committees were then briefed on the current situation in the developing world. Jiri Kratky, department chief of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, held the briefing.

At their joint session yesterday in Prague, the defense and security committees of the Federal Assembly's two chambers discussed the development of traffic accidents in Czechoslovakia, and measures to reduce the number of such accidents. The number of fatal accidents on our roads and highways has dropped by 40 percent during the past 10 years; and the number of serious injuries, by 30 percent. Colonel Pavol Vano, federal deputy minister of the interior, called attention to the high proportion of pedestrians among the victims of traffic accidents. Colonel General Frantisek Vesely, one of the deputies, noted that driving under the influence of alcohol remained a constant problem.

1014  
CSO: 2400/469



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RALLY BRANDED AS REVANCHIST

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 May 85 p 7

[Article by Juraj Bydzovsky: "The 'Nonexistent' Revanchists"]

[Text] At their rally on Saturday and Sunday in Stuttgart, representatives of the so-called Sudeten German Landsmanschaft again provided a noisy documentation of their revanchist aims, their unreconstructed ties to the past, and their hostility to the post-war arrangement in Europe, an arrangement which has been the backbone of 40 years of peaceful life.

What is even worse, the outcry heard there was again joined by official representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG], bringing to it clearly-expressed support of revanchism. The Bavarian state minister Franz Neubauer stated at Sunday's main assembly in Stuttgart that the FRG treaties with the countries of Eastern Europe are not treaties recognizing the post-war borders. This peculiar interpretation of FRG commitments was accompanied by the thesis, frequently voiced in recent times by FRG officials, namely, that "the German question is and remains open." As a representative of the revanchists, Neubauer shouted on this occasion that "the Sudeten German Landsmanschaft will continue to demand its right to a homeland."

Among the guests of honor at this year's rally was also the director of the Chancellor's office, Wolfgang Schauble, who greeted the meeting in the name of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He assured the assembled revanchists that the Bonn government would always support and defend their interests. Applying a rather curious sense of humor--in which he was not the first--he did not even hesitate to dub the landsmanschafts as "bridges of understanding" with their Eastern neighbors. Demanding the territory of another state and claiming the right to impose the way of life for another nation, are certainly strange ways of promoting "understanding."

Moreover, even at the opening session on Saturday, Bavarian state minister August Land, stated that the German Reich did not end in the 1945 capitulation, that it continues to exist, and that no single German must ever give up this claim.

About the same time, there was in Duesseldorf a rally of a so-called fellow-citizen union of "East Prussian Germans." This enterprise received greetings

from the chairman of the CSU and the Bavarian regional government, Franz Josef Strauss. He also iterated the thesis that allegedly "the German question remains open."

The main speaker at this association's closing session was federal minister Zimmermann, long known for his efforts to place the post-war arrangement in Europe in doubt, his attacks on the FRG treaties with the socialist states and on the existing borders on our continent. In his Duesseldorf address, he advocated the reunification of Germany.

This and other positions of members of the federal and state governments, provide a clear illustration of the fraudulent and oft-repeated claim by Bonn that there are absolutely no revanchist manifestations in the FRG.

No matter how hard they try, they are unable to find any revanchists anywhere. For most of them, it would be enough to look in a mirror.

9496

CSO: 2400/455

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ANTICOMMUNISTS SAID TO BE ALARMED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 85 p 6

[Article by Jindrich Volek and Josef Grousl: "Causes of Nervousness"]

[Text] Since the early 1980's, the camp of international anticommunism, represented primarily by the ruling circles of the United States and the other NATO countries, have been showing signs of increased political nervousness. It stems mainly from the fact that the world socialist system has been able to strengthen--politically, economically, ideologically, and in terms of military strategy--its position as a revolutionary and revolutionizing factor of world development.

The commonwealth of socialist countries has demonstrated its qualitatively greater ability to successfully solve the complex questions of its internal development. It has been pointing out realistic ways for preserving the peaceful conditions of mankind's life, for ensuring social justice and humanism, and for supplying the material and spiritual needs of the working man in our age. Really existing socialism has become so strong and active an opposite pole to world capitalism that anticommunist politicians and ideologists must willy-nilly reckon with it as a powerful factor of world politics.

The time when some of them were convinced that the socialist countries, and the world revolutionary process in general, could be "held up" and "suppressed" is long past. Their policy of directly and indirectly undermining the socialist countries has failed. The plans for a counterrevolutionary coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, for reversing the starting socialist changes in the GDR in July 1953, and for abolishing the people's democracy in Hungary and Poland in 1956--all ended in failure. The far-reaching plans to overthrow the socialist system in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Poland in the early 1980's, collapsed. And with this their hopes ended that these counterrevolutionary attempts would set off a "chain reaction" in the other European socialist countries and would lead to socialism's "disintegration."

The predictions also turned out to be false that really existing socialism "would disappear automatically," by transforming itself into a "free"--i.e., a capitalist--system.

The most aggressive and most reactionary parts of the anticommunist camp are responding in their peculiar way to the strengthening of the socialist commonwealth's internal stability and international position, and to the rise of its world influence. They have embarked on a course of sharply aggressive foreign and military policy. Their objective is to "compensate for the losses of power" during the 1970's, and to establish the political, economic, military and ideological hegemony of the countries of the "free" world, with the ruling circles of the United States acting as its self-appointed leaders.

Toward the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist commonwealth, this foreign and military policy has assumed the form of "direct confrontation." This is clearly evident from the defense guidelines that the American administration has adopted for 1984-1988. The dissatisfied executor of these guidelines is the military industrial complex of the United States. The guidelines emphasize the need to develop and qualitatively improve the military potential of the United States and NATO, so as to achieve military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

Overt and covert interference in the internal affairs of other countries, economic discrimination, embargoes on exports to "nonfree" countries, the blackmailing of weaker states, and the suppression of civil and human rights are a part of this aggressive policy. And so is state-controlled or state-supported psychological and physical terror against nations and individuals whose ideas of a free life do not conform to the notions of the self-proclaimed "true defenders of freedom."

The anticommunist centers, whose activities receive generous support from the American and other imperialist governments and institutions, are reviving the old plans to undermine and destroy the world socialist commonwealth. Special attention is being devoted in these plans to broadening the scope and specifying the content of psychological war, and to determining the "effectiveness" of the methods of waging it. Against some of the socialist countries, and also against some of the revolutionary and progressive elements in the capitalist and developing countries, this war is assuming the form of psychological aggression.

The purpose of the undermining activity against the socialist countries is to induce disintegrating isolationist, nationalist and anti-Soviet trends; to revive various reformist and revisionist ideological conceptions; to undermine the morale, ideological and political unity of the people, and the leading role of the communist parties in the individual countries; and on this basis to attempt to create situations that would undermine the socialist commonwealth as a whole.

The hoary conception of so-called gradualism is again being brought out. It presupposes the "weakening and disintegration of political power through systematic but inconspicuous activity" and relies on taking advantage of the constitution, and of various statutory regulations and ordinances enacted by local government agencies. The initiators of gradualism are continuing to focus attention on propaganda for disruptive organizations of the same type as Solidarity in Poland.

Abusing the desire of the people to live in peace, they are attempting to form "independent peace movements," and not merely in the socialist countries. They are showing "concern" also for the solution of the current economic problems in the socialist countries. In relation to Czechoslovakia, for example, the "impossibility of mastering" the new degree of the national economy's intensification, etc. is being pointed out.

According to the plans of the anticommunist centers, the implementation of this concept should "prepare the conditions for a new revolution," taking into consideration the specific situation in this or that country belonging to the socialist commonwealth.

The consequences of uneven development in the principal imperialist countries and in the other capitalist countries, and also their mutual conflicts, are another source of the increasing nervousness, primarily at the very center of world anticommunism. These consequences, and imperialism's internal and external conflicts are reflected in the influence of certain new factors of an economic, social, political, diplomatic, ideological and military nature.

The most obvious manifestation of uneven economic development is the change in the status of the United States. In the late 1940's, the United States accounted for 50 percent of the capitalist countries' industrial output. From the beginning of the 1970's to the beginning of the 1980's, however, the volumes of industrial production in the United States and in the countries of Western Europe, particularly the EEC, became more or less equal.

The EEC countries have become so strong economically that they are not always subordinating their own interests to those of the United States on all economic questions. On the other hand, the United States has been strengthening its financial positions and has attained the lead in science and technology within the entire capitalist system. Specifically these phenomena, jointly and severally, have led to an intensification of the conflicts between the United States and its NATO allies.

A clear current manifestation of the political disagreements in the imperialist world, which perceptibly affects also the other areas of mutual relations, is the dissatisfaction of a number of prominent statesmen and politicians, in the West and in the United States itself, with the present American policy of confrontation.

The overall perception of current international developments by these politicians was made public in a study of East-West relations that appeared late last year in the West German weekly DIE ZEIT. The more than 30 authors of this study included personalities such as H. Schmidt, J. Callaghan, P. Trudeau, E. Heath, R. McNamara, C. Vance, G. Kennan, J. McCloy, J. Javits, and prominent public figures from other countries. None of them can be called a supporter of the socialist countries. Yet their rejection of the policy of "confrontation" has caused alarm in the ranks of "orthodox anticommunism."

In view of these new factors, it is typical that the anticommunist forces, represented by the ruling circles of the United States, are now striving to tone

down the critical voices within their own camp, and to conceal their own aggressiveness before world public opinion.

The sharp confrontational tenor of the rhetoric in their propaganda has been softened. The use of certain political concepts and slogans has changed. Besides the lies and half-truths that traditionally belong in the arsenal of psychological war, this propaganda operates with the customary "proven" concept of freedom, but more often, more emphatically and more cunningly also with slogans such as peace, patriotism, and revolution. This is nothing other than crafty propaganda deception that lives parasitically on everything honest progressive people value; it is but a psychological propaganda curtain to conceal imperialism's aggressiveness, war preparations, chauvinism, repression, social revanchism and counterrevolution.

The world today is not developing according to the will of anticommunism's leaders. This fact is making them more and more nervous. Their irritation, in combination with their fear of further social and political changes in the world, breeds the tendency to exacerbate the ideological conflicts between capitalism and socialism, and to carry them over into the political relations between countries, especially into the military strategic balance of power between the world socialist commonwealth and the NATO countries. Their nervousness revives such old recipes as how to "suppress" the forces of socialism, democracy, social progress and independence into a defensive position, and how to align the "free" world under the hegemony of American reaction.

1014

CSO: 2400/472

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW IDENTIFICATION CARDS ISSUED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jun 85 p 2

[Jindrich Spevak's interview with Col. RSDr Vojtech Tomas, chief of the Federal Public Security Directorate]

[Text] Section 24 of the Legal Code, dated 28 November 1984, contained Federal Ministry of Interior Notice No. 119 on new citizen identification cards [OP], effective 1 January 1985. Issuance of the new document began after that date. Since some changes have been introduced, we requested clarification from Col. Tomas. In his introductory remarks he stated:

The legal adjustments in and new format of the OP derive from the need of state organs, organizations, as well as citizens, in the use of the OP as a public document through which Czechoslovak citizens establish their identity, citizenship, residence and other legal registration information.

Most changes occurred in connection with the issuance of other generally binding directives. This is true, for instance, of the duty of citizens, parents or guardians of children under 15, to have information on the latter entered in their OPs. This adjustment directly follows the parents' duty to register such children for permanent or temporary residence.

[Question] The new OP includes an expanded section on the husband, such as his birth registration number and the place of birth. Why?

[Answer] This information, notably the birth registration number, is often needed in official questionnaires and other correspondence. It is, therefore, quite proper that it be included in the OP, even though it requires that proof of such information as the birth registration number be provided.

[Question] Documentation required for issuance of an OP includes a photograph.

[Answer] Here too, we have a change. Up to now, the requirement was a photograph of 5.5 X 6.5 centimeters. The one in the new OP will be size 3.5 X 4.5, made on glossy hard paper. This change will be beneficial for citizens, since the new size is cheaper to produce and can also be used for a driver's license. The smaller format also affects the size of the OP.

Question What other changes have been introduced?

Answer Other changes affect the registration of employment. In connection with new legislation, employment registration was expanded to include information on secondary and university-level education (even primary if that is the case at the time of issuance), and information on a citizen's primary occupation as approved by his national committee.

From this ensues the duty for all pupils and students to produce proof of the beginning and termination of their studies. By the same token, a citizen whose primary occupation has been approved or revoked must obtain confirmation from the national committee.

Question Does this include citizens whose legal competence has been limited by the courts?

Answer In order to avoid difficulties which in practice occur in the process of securing employment, entering into marriage or concluding other contracts with such citizens, the notice requires that they register with the regional, district or municipal offices of the Corps of National Security, depending on their permanent residence. The registration will be based on the court decision which ruled on this subject.

Citizens whose competence had been fully restored will be able to request a new OP without any mention of this matter, as they are permitted to do in case of punishment through preventive supervision or residence ban.

Question Does Notice 119 also expand citizens rights?

Answer Yes. This refers to registration of certain serious physical disorders manifested in seizures requiring immediate medication or special type of first aid in the interest of life and health. Each citizen has the right to request that the National Institute of Health authorize such entries, including blood type and sub-type, in the new OP.

The new document contains space for such entries, as well as for those on legal competence, in the section titled "Other Information" which, for the sake of convenience, is on the last page of the OP.

Question Another citizen's right is, for example, to place the OP in safe-keeping with the security organs.

Answer The notice on this documentation enables citizens who travel abroad for extended periods to leave the OP with the district or municipal directorate of the SNB, again depending on their permanent place of residence. The citizen will obtain a receipt in a form which can be taken abroad with him. A certification of deposit, loss or theft on an OP which the citizen receives in copy form cannot, as the OP itself, be taken abroad, since it contains signatures, file numbers, etc.



[Question] How will the exchange of OPs be carried out?

[Answer] Citizen identity cards issued under previous statutes will be valid for the remainder of the period for which they were issued. This means that the exchange will be gradual, rather than at the same time for all. OPs expiring on 1 July 1985 will not be extended; rather, holders will receive the new ones.

Parents and guardians of children below 15 years of age, who have not yet registered them, students of secondary and university-level schools, and citizens with national committee-approved occupations, must present their OPs for such entries no later than six months after the effective date of the notice, i.e., by 31 December 1985.

9496

CSO: 2400/510

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DEFICIENCIES IN PLACEMENT OF PHYSICIANS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 May 85 p 3

[Article by Zdena Stepankova: "Do We Or Don't We Have Enough Physicians?"]

[Excerpts] The reports of the Federal Office of Statistics tell us every year, among other things, how many citizens there are in the average for one physician. For the last few years, that figure has been less than three hundred, which puts us in the foremost ranks in the world. Therefore, it should not be a problem to ensure all medical services and, furthermore, to make sure that all medical care and special services are obtained without undue delay.

The practical results, however, are not as satisfactory as the statistical data and we are receiving many complaints from our readers. In their letters they are also questioning the above noted ratio of physicians and, were we to simplify their opinion, they would ask where all those doctors are when they have to wait so long for an eye examination for example, because the only eye doctor at the clinic may be on a protracted sick leave. Apart from the lack of eye doctors, we could as well mention ear specialists, also in short supply; the same applies to hygienists, factory physicians, pediatricians and others. Certain specialties are not available in certain regions, some are lacking everywhere. In some cases it is a question of unattractive regions and in others of unattractive specialties. But this is taken from the point of view of the physicians, while the patient looks at it differently. For him, the illness he is suffering from is exactly the most important and the most serious one.

Talking about the doctors, we are mainly envisaging a practitioner in his office or in the hospital; but the overall number applies as well to doctors in research, in laboratories, in diverse functions and to those working abroad. Nevertheless, even if we consider only those who are "assigned" to serve the sick, it is still important that the forces be well distributed, so that even the so-called unattractive specialties are well taken care of.

We cannot force anybody to work against his will where the society requires it. We hear such arguments as an explanation or excuse for the penury of physicians in this or that specialty, which, unfortunately, is true. Should a doctor resign for whatever reason, it has to be accepted according to the regulations of the labor code stipulating that everybody is entitled to choose suitable employment he likes. We may remember the former placement regulations

determining where a new graduate should work and what would be his duties there. It was not the best solution either, as such placement regulations solved only specific local problems necessary at that time, while specific abilities of individuals were possibly not taken into consideration. But even here we might have an objection; capable and aggressive individuals became outstanding specialists and their present activity is not only attractive to them but also useful to the society, i.e. to the patients. Others remained at the "assigned" place and are satisfied there. Indeed, who knows precisely when graduating from the university what kind of work he will enjoy during his entire working life and where he will be most useful? In many instances, the decisive reasons at the onset are purely personal, predominantly family reason, particularly where women doctors are concerned.

Placements are not practiced anymore and not relied upon, but medical openings, even if not among the most attractive ones, have to be filled. Highly developed health care--which the Czechoslovak health care undoubtedly is--operates in teams; there are certainly surgeons, internists and cardiologists, but precisely they never omit to mention how much the results of their work depend on the cooperation of the whole team. And not only of the doctors in hospitals, but of doctors in ambulant service as well, as it is precisely there where the patient comes most frequently and where he receives first treatment.

Quite frequently, we hear complaints of leading personnel, be it in the districts, in the sanitary care or at the clinics and in individual specialties, that a freshly graduated doctor started working with them and stated from the start that he intends to stay with them only as long as something better comes up. But as their department badly needs a doctor, they pay great attention to him, explain to him, teach him; and just when it appears that they have won him over, he shows up one day, resigns and leaves to do something completely different, without being able to use the experiences acquired at a specialized department.

Such cases obviously occur more often in "unattractive specialties" than in those of a greater attraction. It cannot though continue to happen, because it is the patient who is carrying the brunt of such benevolence.

It would seem sometimes that the medical schools produce only irresponsible graduates who follow solely their proper interests. Greater firmness at admission would be more beneficiary to the needs of the society than complaints about the irresponsibility of youth. How is it possible that a young doctor changes his employment almost every year and always finds a position? What could be his qualification, his specialization when, having barely looked around in his place of work, he is on the go again?

A considerable interest in medical studies does still persist. Not everybody is admitted and many applicants are disappointed. Although almost every application gives as a motive the desire to become the very best doctor, only few of the first-year medical school students know exactly what their priorities are and what they should fully concentrate on during their studies. How is it possible that all the promises made upon admission to the faculty are forgotten? Or do medical schools emphasize only certain specialties, the attractive ones?

Not everybody can become a surgeon, not only because medicine has many disciplines, but also because he might not be qualified for such work. He can, however, work successfully elsewhere, without concrete examples cited. The medical school should help him to find the appropriate orientation based on his capabilities, interests and needs of the society. Not to give orders, but to persuade and win over.

We are usually talking about unfilled medical openings in certain districts, for example in the Northern Bohemian Region. But there are also cities where there is rather an abundance than lack of applicants; yet, a shortage in some specialties persists. A woman eye doctor told us that in their department of about 30 beds there is the chief physician, she and two young interns; one of them admits openly that he took the job because, despite trying, he could not find so far another position. The final outcome might be different, he may forget the initial boasting and become a good specialist. As far as the department is concerned, they will do the utmost to make it happen. Yet they are justified to ask who instills such conceit into the minds of the graduates? In their opinion, more modesty would become them better. They should first prove their capability and only then make demands.

12707

CSO: 2400/434

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# WORKERS DISCONTENT AIRED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 85 p 4

[Letter by Jaroslav Vnoucek, Havirov: "Confessions of a Worker"]

[Text] I am an old fellow, a worker. Not so much old, as used up. I always gave to work all that was expected of me. The whole man. Otherwise, you cannot do a good job of work. I worked in the mines at Kladno, the Most and the Ostrava regions. In factories and on constructions. I have always been happy that after the liberation our struggle was fought to the end. That we, workers, became the life base of our state.

I often think about what a worker can be proud of after 40 years of freedom. And I always arrive at the same conclusion: yes, he has reasons to be proud! After all, what we have built and made, that is a solid pillar belonging to us all. It can be seen, no matter where we look. And how we changed peoples' consciousness! The exploited ones became the husbandmen. Can you say it is just a little thing?

But permit me to also give some thought to what is troubling this worker. When I read the newspapers, when I look around me, I simply cannot understand how some of us can be actually betraying the idea of freedom, which we followed so steadily for so many years. How they do not do honest work. How they can be indifferent to their responsibilities. How they can enrich themselves at everybody else's expense. They dishonor not only themselves but all of us workers, who are often called the salt of the earth. And that we are! No one should ever forget that.

12605

CSO: 2400/476

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH BEHAVIOR DEPLORED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 85 p 4

[Letter by Vaclav Travenec, Prostějov: "Let us Defend Our Mother Tongue"]

[Text] We are taught the basics of our language by our mother, the literary language by pedagogues in the primary school. We older people know, what our Czech language meant to us during the hard years of Hitler's occupation.

One day I was having lunch in a restaurant in Prostějov not far from the city hall. At the next table there was a group of three young men in fashionably worn, patched pants, and a smiling, dark-eyed girl. All of a sudden, all four of them lit a cigarette, although there was a notice on the wall stating that smoking during lunch hour was prohibited.

Their loud conversation was drowned out by a loudspeaker, but here and there I could hear the rough, lewd language of the foursome. Some young children were listening at the next table.

It used to be that we would be punished in school for using rough language, and that one simply could not have used such expressions in company. Do we have to accept such public abuse of our beautiful, beloved, melodious mother tongue?

12605

CSO: 2400/476

6 August 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CHILDREN PARTICIPATING IN WAR DISCUSSED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 May 85 p 6

[Article by Milan Rusko: "Our Concept of Humanism"]

[Excerpts] Our editorial office received a letter from Ing Jozef Tatransky from Hlohovec, in which the writer criticizes our reporting of foreign news and requests a reply to his questions.

The subject of his criticism is a photograph published on 6 April, which showed a young Nicaraguan boy holding a gun. The accompanying text read "most Nicaraguans, including the very young, do not hesitate to defend the liberty and sovereignty of their country with gun in hand."

Ing Tatransky writes: "Do you consider it correct, comrades, to place weapons in the hands of children and encourage them to participate in bloody combat? Is this humane? Have you considered how a massacre of children would look in your foreign news reporting?" In another portion of his letter, he continues: "I am opposed to such abnormal and inhumane extremes as sending children into combat and so are, I am sure, all of our thinking citizens who have a heart. Speaking of thinking people, I wonder whether those who place weapons into the hands of children, realize that youngsters not yet 14 years old are not mature enough to handle arms safely. Such manipulation may have disastrous consequences for the children themselves. Would you send your daughter with gun in hand to a battle front? Have you ever approved of such things in the past?"

Esteemed Jozef Tatransky, you have picked one aspect of what is happening in Nicaragua, which is indeed worthy of thought. It is a fact that even young boys in that country are determined to participate in the war against the enemy. You decry this, yet you forget that this occurs because of the intervention of the most reactionary forces of international imperialism in the affairs of a sovereign country. It is hard to find in your letter a sense of "thoughtfulness, humanism or justice" which you demand of others. Otherwise, you would reserve your indignation, first of all, for the fact that for the last 5 years Nicaragua has been the target of assault by counter-revolutionary bands, organized, financed and equipped by the United States which is spending tens of millions of dollars for their upkeep, while CIA and U.S. Army instructors teach them to murder and perform other terrorist

acts. Since you apparently did not have the time (or interest) to read about it in our or other newspapers, perhaps you have seen television newscasts documenting the barbarism of the counterrevolutionaries whose victims include children.

Esteemed Jozef Tatransky, you underestimate the 14 and 15-year old boys and their determination to fight alongside their older brothers or fathers. While it is true that this should be an age of games, school and sports, it is not their fault, nor the fault of others in this country of less than 3 million, that they have to resist the threat of the largest imperialist power with its 230 million inhabitants. And while we are on the subject of schools, did you know that it was only after the revolution that Nicaraguan children gained access to basic education, that it was only after the fall of the Somoza dictatorship--supported by the United States--that there was health care for the broad masses, notably children and the young, and that the ensuing land reform enabled many poor families to finally earn their living? You use the term children. It could be that "developmental psychology" as you understand and cite it, has nothing to say about children who, under certain circumstances in difficult and demanding conditions, reach mental maturity quite early. Even here in our country during the bourgeois republic there were families surviving only thanks to a starvation wage earned by their children, and to this day there are countries where the only source of livelihood for many poor families is child labor. We wish to stress that Nicaragua is no longer one of these.

Do you really believe that the young--even those below the age of 14--have no sense of responsibility? You express concern that they lack good sense to handle a weapon safely. Well, I have seen boys of that age in Palestinian camps who, just as those in Nicaragua, were ready to face the Israeli aggressors with gun in hand. Whose fault is it that many of them have since lost their lives in this struggle? Did they lack good sense? Hardly, I rather believe they performed acts of heroism, especially since most of the victims in the Sabra and Shatila camp massacres were defenseless children, women and the old.

I can cite another example. This year, the Vietnamese Socialist Republic celebrated the 10th anniversary of the American aggressor's defeat. Again we saw in the press, by now historical, photographs of children turned to living torches by American napalm. Are you still wondering why their older brothers and sisters took up arms?

Recently we celebrated the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascist Germany. The struggle of nations in the Second World War produced many examples of heroism among the young who, gun in hand, confronted the nazi invaders. I am sure that even in your neighborhood we would find some of them. In the Soviet Union which bore the heaviest burden in this heroic struggle, there were thousands. As they understood the meaning of the just struggle 40 years ago, so do the young in Nicaragua today. We have always denounced initiators of wars and they alone are responsible for the death of innocent people, including children. These initiators always were and still are the



militarist circles of the most reactionary forces. Thus also today in Nicaragua, the burden of guilt lies squarely on the counterrevolutionary elements and their supporters and protectors at the headquarters in Washington. Shame is not on those who stand up in defense of their own rights but rather on those who, aware of their military and economic superiority, strive to bring the weaker ones to their knees through murder, often of innocents and children.

9496

CSO: 2400/452

6 August 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## WATER CONSERVATION URGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Josef Becvar: "Before We Turn the Tap"]

[Text] Despite the fact that southern Bohemia is the wettest area of the country with its 7,000 fishponds and many streams of water, there has been a problem there with drinking water since before anyone can remember. During the time of the bourgeois republic, the water lines were a scandal. People had to carry water into their homes or bring it from public wells and springs and they therefore were careful in using it. In Ceske Budejovice at that time the daily consumption of drinking water per inhabitant was 88 liters, in Tabor it was 63, and in Strakonice only 19 liters. And today? The average consumption per person per day in the southern Bohemian towns already exceeds 300 liters and in modern apartments of prefabricated construction up to 500 liters. One can turn the tap at any time and get water. But at what price?

Almost 76 percent of the population in the kraj is hooked up to the public water supply. The current construction of water reservoirs with modern water treatment in Plav near Ceske Budejovice with a capacity of 480 liters per second is a good basis for supplying the kraj capital and another five okreses. All this requires a lot of financial resources. It has been calculated that the costs from finding a source which gives a liter of drinking water per second up to connecting it into the water supply network amount to 2.4 million koruns in southern Bohemia. And there is no doubt that finding new sources of drinking water will become more and more difficult and expensive because of harm to the environment.

The southern Bohemian water supply and sewage last year produced a cubic meter of drinking water for Kcs 3.27. At the same time, the implementation cost is only Kcs 1.98. The state subsidy is even higher since citizens pay only 60 halers for each cubic meter. There are no water meters in the individual apartments. The charges are calculated for the entire housing complex. Therefore the consumption of potable water by families cannot be recorded and payment made for actual usage. Water is not being wasted only in the southern Bohemia kraj. Consumption is increasing throughout the country, even though the sources are not inexhaustible. Specialists have worked out that if the consumption of water grows as rapidly as in the past few years, by the end of the century we will run out of it. We can avoid this unhappy forecast by economizing with this irreplaceable liquid. However, it depends on each of us.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROTEST URGED TO AMELIORATE ENVIRONMENT

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jun 85 p 7

[Article by Jan V. Svec: "World Human Environment Day. A Public Appeal"]

[Text] Thirteen years ago, on 5 June 1972, an international conference convened in Stockholm, under United Nations auspices, to discuss the problems of the human environment. It adopted the first international declaration proclaiming the principles of environmental protection, and each country's responsibility for observing them. Each year we commemorate the anniversary of this important event as World Human Environment Day.

Regrettably, this appeal of essential importance has not met everywhere with the acceptance it deserves. In the socialist countries, the protection of nature and the prudent use of natural resources have become a constitutional principle, and huge sums are being allocated for protecting the living environment. In the capitalist world, however, egotism and the race to maximize profits often cause extensive ecological catastrophes. It will suffice to mention the hundreds of people poisoned in Seveso, Italy; last year's catastrophe in Bhopal, India, where over 3,000 people died; and the more than 7,000 people killed in Brazil. Or the famines in the arid Sahel zone of Africa as a result of timber cutting and monocultural cropping practices by the colonialists and monopolies; similar practices in the Amazon Basin, etc. Furthermore, the excessive extraction of raw materials; the indiscriminate dumping of toxic wastes on land and at sea; and the huge quantities of fly ash and fumes released into the atmosphere of entire continents.

Unfortunately, there are also other sources of the environment's pollution and destruction, far more dangerous than the "civilian" ones mentioned so far. They stem from the military strategic objectives of the Western imperialists who are stepping up the arms race to catastrophic proportions. In the United States, for example, specifically the military industry produces 80 percent of all harmful substances. The consequences are difficult to foresee of the more and more frequent nuclear arms tests, and of the uncontrollable breakdowns and accidents of the nuclear arms' delivery systems. Realization of the megalomaniacal plans of the United States, and of the Pentagon and NATO generals, to rule the world, and their unrealistic hopes of victory in a thermonuclear war that they are eagerly preparing on land and sea, and more recently in outer space as well, would mean a complete, and evidently the final, catastrophe for life on our planet.

Therefore we welcome each peace initiative of the Soviet Union, of the socialist commonwealth's countries and of all soberly thinking people--politicians, scientists, and public figures--and also the actions of peace organizations, every antiwar demonstration, literally every banner or signature for peace.

Indeed, every protest--even the seemingly insignificant appeal of each individual--is necessary, especially today when our entire planet and the universe beyond it are seriously and lethally threatened. Let us bear this urgently in mind now, on the occasion of World Human Environment Day.

1014

CSO: 2400/469

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

HIGH ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION NOTED--We can often read in the black annals about how many car accidents were caused by alcohol. As a member of the auxiliary guard of Public Security, I know that regardless of the many different measures, each month many driver's licenses are suspended because the drivers consumed alcohol. In our district in 1984, foreexample, 195,244 hectolitres of beer were consumed, regardless of the age of the people, which represents an average of 213 litres per person. If we were to add to this hard liquor and wine, I think the numbers would surprise us. Reasons for drinking are many: celebrations of all kinds of things--birthdays, bonuses, young people celebrating their graduation or receiving their apprenticeship certificate. It is sad even young people drink. On Sunday, when the train from Plzen arrives, the doors of the pub keep swinging, the boys carry their cups and their bottles of beer. Are they really 18 years old? [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jun 85 p 4] 12605

CSO: 2400/476

HUNGARY

# JOURNAL PUBLISHES MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE WORKING GROUPS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, 1985 pp 42-45

[Article: "Working Groups Operating Alongside the Central Committee"]

[Text] At the 13th Congress of the Party, the Central Committee approved the presidents of working groups, and on 23 April 1985 the Politburo approved the secretaries and the members of the working groups, as well as the editorial committees of the journals TARSADALMI SZEMLE and PARTELET.

## Working Group for Party-Building

### President:

Karoly Nemeth, Deputy First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

### Secretary:

Istvan Latos, Deputy Director of the Central Committee's Department for Party and Mass Organizations

### Members:

Tibor Baranyai, First Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT)  
Gabor Borbely, Secretary of the Budapest party committee  
Sandor Borbely, National Commander of the Workers' Militia  
Gabor Deak, First Secretary of the XIIIth District party committee  
Jozsef Dudla, First Secretary of the Miskolc party committee  
Ferenc Frank, retired First Secretary of the Bekes County party committee  
Miklos Horvath, First Secretary of the Vas County party committee  
Vera Lajtai, retired Managing Editor of PARTELET  
Sandor Lakos, Managing Editor of PARTELET  
Janos Lukacs, First Secretary of the Baranya County party committee  
Lajos Merten, First Secretary of the party committee in the city of Tatabanya  
Istvan Nyitrai, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League (KISZ)  
Istvan Petrovszki, Director of the Central Committee's Department for Party and Mass Organizations  
Szigfrid Peter, First Secretary of the Tolna County party committee

Ferenc Skoda, Secretary of the Nograd County party committee  
Sandor Somogyi, retired Secretary of the Budapest party committee  
Istvan Takacs, retired Department Chairman of the Political Academy  
Janos Toth, Secretary of the Federation of Technical and Scientific Organizations (MTESZ)  
Imre Vertes, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of NEPSZABADSAG

#### Economic Working Group

##### President:

Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee

##### Secretary:

Pal Ivanyi, Deputy Director of the Central Committee's Department for Economic Policy

##### Members:

Jozsef Bognar, academician, Director of the Research Institute for World Economy  
Ferenc Bartha, Director of the Secretariat, Council for International Economic Relations  
Laszlo Bukta, Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT)  
Bela Csikos Nagy, academician, President of the Hungarian Economic Association  
Lajos Dozza, Director General of the Hungarian Aluminum Industry Trust  
Gyorgy Enyedi, Director of the Regional Research Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Zsuzsa Ferge, Department Director of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Ferenc Horvath, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Industry  
Istvan Hagelmayer, Director of the Financial Research Institute  
Lajos Henczi, Deputy First Secretary of the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations (MTESZ)  
Istvan Hetenyi, Minister of Finance  
Robert Hoch, Deputy Director of the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Erno Kemenes, Director of the Institute for Planned Economy, National Planning Office (OT)  
Ferenc Kozma, Instructor at the Political Academy  
Rezso Nyers, Adviser to the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Mrs Ferenc Nyitrai, Director of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)  
Albert Racz, President of the National Office for Wages and Labor Affairs  
Sandor Szabo, First Secretary of the Csongrad County party committee  
Kalman Szabo, academician, Professor at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences  
Bela Szikszay, President of the National Office for Material and Prices  
Imre Tarafas, Assistant Department Chief, Hungarian National Bank

Marton Tardos, Department Head in the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Matyas Timar, President of the Hungarian National Bank  
Miklos Villanyi, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food  
Imre Vincze, Deputy Minister of Domestic Commerce

#### Working Group for Cooperative Policies

##### President:

Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee

##### Secretary:

Imre Kovacs, Deputy Director of the Department of Economic Policy of the Central Committee

##### Members:

Gabor Apati Nagy, Vice President of the "6th of October" Cooperative in Nagyszenas  
Sandor Demjan, Director General of the "Skala" Cooperative  
Gyorgy Gondor, President of the Chemical and Synthetic Cooperative  
Ferenc Gubicza, President of the "Csopaktaja" Cooperative, Nemesvamos  
Istvan Herlicska, President of the General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives (AFESZ), Gyor  
Lajos Koveskuti, President of the Industrial Cooperative for Communications Technology, Budapest  
Sandor Urban, Docent of the Debrecen Agricultural University  
Lajos Rev, President of the National Federation of Artisan Cooperatives (OKISZ)  
Aladar Sipos, Director of the Institute of Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Istvan Szabo, President of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives (TOT)  
Jozsef Szabo, Rector of the Political Academy  
Istvan Szlameniczky, President of the National Federation of Cooperatives (SZOVOSZ)  
Jeno Vancsa, Minister of Agriculture and Food  
Sandor Zsarnoczai, Editor-in-Chief of KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE

#### Working Group for Cultural Policies

##### President:

Lenard Pal, Secretary of the Central Committee

##### Secretary:

Andras Knopp, Deputy Director of the Scientific, Educational and Cultural Department of the Central Committee



Members:

Miklos Almasi, Department Chairman and Professor, Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE)  
Eva Ancsel, Professor at Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE)  
T. Ivan Berend, academician, President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Ferenc Gazso, Deputy Minister of Culture  
Imre Gyori, President of the National Council for Public Culture  
Istvan Hars, Director of Hungarian Radio  
Tibor Huszar, academician, Director of the Sociological Institute at Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE)  
Istvan Huszar, Director of the Institute of Party History  
Gyorgy Jozsa, Director of the Main Department of Marxism-Leninism, Ministry of Culture  
Istvan Kiraly, academician, Department Chairman and Professor at Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE)  
Mihaly Kornidesz, President of Hungarian Television  
Bela Kopeczi, Minister of Culture  
Kalman Kulcsar, academician, Deputy First Secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Sandor Lakos, Managing Editor of PARTELET

Working Group for Youth Affairs

President:

Karoly Nemeth, Deputy First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Secretary: Andras Toth, Political Associate of the Department for Party and Mass Organization of the Central Committee

Members:

P. Andras Bard, Vice President of the National Peace Council, President of the Youth and Student Committee  
Robert Cravero, Deputy Director of the National Planning Office (OT)  
Erzsebet Cser, Secretary of the Communist Youth League's (KISZ) Committee for the IIIrd District, Budapest  
Ferenc Gazso, Deputy Minister of Culture  
Tibor Halay, Deputy Director of the Institute of Social Sciences  
Csaba Hamori, member of the Politburo, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League (KISZ)  
Bela Hary, retired First Secretary of the Gyor-Sopron County party committee  
Ferenc Karvalits, First Secretary of the Zala County party committee  
Ferenc Karpati, Deputy Minister of Defense  
Sandor Nagy, Secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT)  
Gyorgy Sikula, First Secretary of the Hajdu-Bihar County party committee  
Miklos Szabo, First Secretary of the Bekes County party committee  
Mrs Istvan Szucs, First Secretary of the party committee of the Vth District, Budapest

Laszlo Varga, Executive Secretary of the National Council for the League of Hungarian Pioneers, Secretary of the National Council for Youth  
Jozsef Lukacs, academician, Director of the Institute of Philosophy, of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Pal Pandi, academician, Department Chairman and Professor at Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE), member of the editorial board of NEPSZABADSAG  
Katalin Radics, Director of the Department for Science, Education, and Culture of the Central Committee  
Peter Renyi, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of NEPSZABADSAG  
Mihaly Simai, academician, Deputy Director of the Research Institute for World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Ivan Szandtner, Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Youth League (KISZ)  
Miklos Szinetar, film director, Vice President of Hungarian Television, in charge of artistic affairs  
Julianna P. Szucs, art historian, Editor-in-Chief of MOZGO VILAG  
Pal Tetenyi, academician, President of the National Committee for Technological Development  
Dezso Toth, academician, Deputy Minister of Culture  
Ferenc Tokei, academician, Director of Orientalistics Working Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Rozsa H. Varro, Assistant Editor-in-Chief of TARSADALMI SZEMLE  
Tibor Vamos, academician, Director of the Research Institute for Computer Technology and Automatization of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Ivan Vitanyi, Director of the Research Institute for Culture

12588

CSO: 2500/425

HUNGARY

WRITER CLAIMS HUNGARY REALLY PART OF CENTRAL, NOT EAST EUROPE

Vienna WIENER JOURNAL in German No 56, May 85 pp 9-10

[Article by Gyula Denes (pseudonym), "On the Question of Hungarian National Identity: From East Toward Central Europe"]

[Text] Hungarian nationalism has repeatedly been a favorite topic treated in both the Western as well as the Eastern European (above all in the Slovakian and Romanian) press. Even the most objective Western journalists think it necessary, when they write about Hungarian society and Hungarian culture, to add a few critical comments about Hungarian nationalism.

Are the Hungarians really more nationalistic than other Europeans? If so, why? And if not, why do they seem to be?

Like every consciousness of national identity, Hungary's has a historical basis. This history of the Hungarian nation in the 20th century is a series of failures. To be sure, the bourgeois revolution in October 1918 promised a new, democratic Hungary, but already on the 21st of March 1919 the communists overthrew the democratic government of Mihaly Karolyis. Radical rightwing terrorism and conservative/feudal restoration followed the 133-day republic. As a result of the peace treaty of Trianon in 1920 Hungary lost two-thirds of its historical territory and--what was even more tragic--one-third of its Hungarian-speaking population. Between 1938 and 1941 it regained some areas mostly inhabited by Hungarians, an illusory success, which after 1945 turned in the opposite direction since the leaders of the neighboring countries--simply by referring to the revisionist efforts of the Hungarians--closed their minds to a more dignified solution to the question of the Hungarian minorities. Between 1945 and 1948 the Hungarian population of those areas which had recently been annexed to Czechoslovakia or Yugoslavia experienced the most difficult period in their history. Tito's partisans carried out a mass slaughter of the Yugoslavian Hungarians while the Czech government set as its goal--in accordance with the creation of a Slavic Czechoslovakia--the total expulsion of the Hungarians as well as the Germans. (The situation of the Transylvanian Hungarians was still acceptable at this time; the Groza regime endeavored in its nationalities policy to support the concerns of the minorities living in Romania.)

In 1947-48 the leadership in Hungary gradually passed into the hands of the communists. Subsequently historical and social traditions and values of

any sort were denied in an exceedingly primitive manner by official propaganda; the eradication of all historical memories which did not confirm the communist interpretation of history was attempted. In 1956 a democratic national revolt broke out, but its suppression represents a further stage of the historical failures of the 20th century.

We can fix the beginning of Hungary's current history at the time of the declaration of amnesty in 1963. This period of time is commonly called the epoch in which a "compromise between power and society" was reached. A compromise was in fact achieved between the powers that be and the majority of the intelligentsia, though this compromise was imposed upon them. After a few years it became clear that the relative peace within the society and the modest economic prosperity must exact a high price: the ruling power demands the complete abandonment of any consciousness of national identity; national democratic traditions are supposed to be forgotten for good.

The political leadership wanted to know nothing of the problems of the Hungarian minorities who had emigrated to the West; the party historians created the ideology of the "guilty nation," resulting from the fact that Hungary had been Hitler's most loyal ally and was deeply imbued with fascism; they say the "fascist counterrevolution" of 1956 proves this last point.

Instruction in Hungarian history was reformed, and indeed in a form which degraded Hungarian history to a series of events that served only to pave the way for the communist takeover. The changes carried out after 1948 were interpreted as necessary punishment due the guilty nation and underdeveloped society. This view of history did not even make the concession to the Hungarian national consciousness of grouping itself with the Slovaks, Romanians, and Croats who had pursued the same course in the Second World War. According to this interpretation the Hungarian transgression was the greatest and the Hungarian guilt the heaviest.

Nearly an entire decade had to pass before the problems of the Hungarian minorities were mentioned in Hungary's press. And only for the last 4 to 5 years have those writings and books been allowed to come out that deal with the democratic efforts prior to 1948 and their champions such as Mihaly Karolyi, Oszkar Jaszi, Istvan Bibó and with noncommunist efforts at progress. Even today we still read primarily condemnatory and derogatory commentaries on the events of 1956 in the official Hungarian press; but above all, thanks to the independent Hungarian underground press, it is possible at this point for the reader in Hungary to get hold of more and more documents, documentary reports, and analyses.

The "historical compromise" forced at the beginning of the 1960's had lost its validity by the beginning of the 1970's. The catchword "socioeconomic prosperity," which took the place of nationalism, had lost its credibility. Hungary's socioeconomic problems are growing, the standard of living is sinking, the so-called reform policy has stalled. The situation of the Hungarian minorities has become virtually disastrous, and both the Romanian and Slovakian policies make no secret of the fact that they are pursuing the

goal of as rapid an assimilation as possible. But even in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union the minorities question cannot be called solved. Hungarian society is in a crisis. But this political, economic, moral, and spiritual crisis is possibly the chance for a new consciousness of identity.

The Hungarians would like to find their way from Eastern Europe back to Central Europe. Toward that end, however, it is absolutely essential that an atmosphere be created which will make possible an objective discussion of Hungarian and Central European history, whose essential characteristics must be good will and tolerance on all sides. The idea of "Central European-ness" has been well known in Hungarian thought for 150 years; Hungary's greatest political thinkers such as Kossuth, Oszkar, Jaszi, Laszlo Nemeth, and Istvan Bibó did endeavor to find an acceptable form of coexistence between Hungary and its neighbors. When Hungarian society was allowed to decide freely, it chose not conservative chauvinism but rather democracy in accordance with the European model (in 1918 under the leadership of Mihály Károlyi; from 1945-48 with the help of the liberal parties; in 1956 with weapons in hand).

Meanwhile the unsolved problem of the Hungarian minorities remained; but as long as no solution for this problem emerges, or at least proof of sincere efforts is not produced, there can be no talk of a Central European rapprochement. It is a vital interest of the Hungarian identity that that historical settlement with its neighbors, which has been awaited since 1918, be achieved; the fundamental requirement for this agreement is certainly an appropriate tolerance on the part of Hungary's neighbors. A revision of the borders is not important to Hungarian identity; but it does vitally need open borders in Central Europe, across which people and thoughts, hindered by nothing and nobody, can move freely. It is of vital interest to the Hungarian identity that an intellectual atmosphere be created in Central Europe in which the examination of historically conditioned offenses be separated from current problems and the "historical Hungarian sins" not be misused as a moral justification for the continued oppression of the Hungarian minorities.

A sort of Hungarian "economic nationalism" did indeed develop in the 1970's which looked down from the heights of the "Hungarian economic miracle" onto the poverty of the Romanians and the "laziness" of the Poles, but that is all gradually coming to an end in the face of Hungary's increasing economic problems. Of all of Hungary's neighbors the status of Austria corresponds most closely, according to a public opinion poll, to the wishes and needs of the Hungarian people--and, to be sure, not only with regard to foreign affairs but also with regard to internal affairs.

More and more in Hungarian society--first in intellectual circles, of course--the need for the achievement of a "new social agreement" with the powers that be is becoming noticeable. The Hungarians want an atmosphere in which societal problems are not hushed up behind nationalistic slogans and the discussion of national problems is at the same time forbidden under the banner of internationalism. The Hungarian public of today claims the right to follow vigilantly the fate of the Hungarians living outside its national borders

and indeed throughout the entire world. And it demonstrates an ever-increasing need to reassess its historically developed traditions and to determine its own fate insofar as possible.

In this way the Hungarian national consciousness of identity can perhaps be cured of the schizophrenia after all, which finds expression in the duality of exaggerated gestures and inner uncertainty, and it may also free itself from the public opinion in Europe of the distorted image of a "nationalistic Hungary."

[Text in box, p 9]

#### Unsolved Problems

The problem of the nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe, in the face of which the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, is as unsolved as ever. It is just that in the socialist community of nations, which has officially devoted itself to internationalism, it may not be discussed. An extraordinary situation holds for Hungary because 3 million Hungarians live in Romania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia alone. Romania's nationalism is assuming increasingly racist characteristics; Czechoslovakia wants a Slavic state; and Yugoslavia already has enough problems with its six national states.

The author, writing under a pseudonym of course, lives in Hungary, where the question of the Hungarians living in other countries represents one of the trickiest topics of controversy between the regime and the intellectual opposition. At the same time it is a matter of depriving the regime's cheap nationalism of legitimation. The real problem, the cultural and political autonomy of the minorities, probably cannot be solved given the situation in the Eastern bloc. But then we have difficulties enough with it: look at Southern Carinthia and the South Tyrol.

12620

CSO: 2300/432

POLAND

JARUZELSKI'S LETTER TO YOUNG PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU111213 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 Jul 85 p 1

[Letter from Premier Wojciech Jarzelski to young parliamentarians participating in ceremonies to mark the 35th anniversary of the signing of the GDR-Polish border treaty in Zgorzelec and Goerlitz]

[Text] Dear young friends,

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee and PPR Government, I should like to convey to you our sincere regards and to wish you fruitful discussions on the occasion of your meeting on the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Zgorzelec treaty.

You are meeting in Zgorzelec and Goerlitz, towns which lie on a border of peace and friendship, a border which does not separate people but unites them, and by doing so you are acknowledging an event of lasting importance in the history of both our peoples. Your joint discussions bear witness to the concern young people feel about the inviolability of borders, good relations between neighbors, and peaceful development on our continent.

The conclusion, 35 years ago, of the treaty between the PPR and GDR on the demarcation of the fixed and existing border on the Oder and Nysa Luzycka Rivers was a result of the defeat of the criminal Third Reich, a defeat in which the Soviet Union and its heroic army played a decisive role. The Polish soldiers, members of the opposition movement, and antifascist Germans who fought at home and on all fronts in World War II made a significant contribution to that victory. By confirming and implementing the decisions taken at Potsdam, the Zgorzelec treaty executed the will of the millions who died in action or were murdered, and closed the question of the "flaming border" between Poles and Germans.

As representatives of the Polish and GDR younger generations you are aware of the importance of the fraternity, friendship, and cooperation which we have built up on the basis of that treaty over the last decades. Annual meetings between hundreds of thousands of young people and children, who work together, vacation together, and learn about the fatherlands of their friends, serve this great cause well. These meetings bring our peoples closer together and strengthen the friendship which exists between them.

Dear friends,

We are pleased that these meetings between young deputies and councillors have already developed a fine tradition. The exchanges of views and experiences which take place at them help to increase young people's involvement in the building of socialism in our countries, and to expand and broaden cooperation between Polish and GDR youth associations.

Your young minds and hands will continue the work of your fathers, that of building socialism and a successful future for both our peoples, of strengthening Polish-GDR friendship and of preserving peace.

I wish you tenacity in this work.

CSO: 2600/883



POLAND

POLES GREET GDR LEADERS ON TREATY ANNIVERSARY

AU091335 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Telegram from Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council and SED general secretary and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Zgorzelec treaty]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in Berlin.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State, the PPR Government, and the Polish nation, we send the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of State, the GDR Council of Ministers, and fraternal people of the GDR our fraternal greetings and sincerest best wishes on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the signing of the Zgorzelec treaty between the PPR and the GDR on the demarcation of the fixed and existing Polish-German border.

The Zgorzelec treaty in which the GDR--in carrying out the fundamental territorial and political decisions stemming from the Potsdam agreement--recognized the inviolability of Poland's western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers has become a component part of the system of peaceful relations on our continent and an important factor determining security and stability in Europe and the world.

At the same time, the conclusion of the treaty was also an expression of the will of both states and peoples to forge new relations based on international comprehensive cooperation, ideological unity, and fraternal friendship. The significance of this step is borne out by the fact that it was accomplished only a few years after the victory of the USSR, the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and antifascist forces over the criminal Third Reich, at a time when the memory of the 6 million Polish citizens who lost their lives in death camps, on the partisan field of battle, and on all the fronts of World War II, from its first to its last day, was still fresh.

On the basis of the Zgorzelec treaty and the permanent foundation of joint membership of the political and defensive Warsaw Pact, we have forged fraternal friendship and close cooperation between our states and peoples. They were and will remain a permanent barrier against the continued renewal of attempts to question the Yalta-Potsdam settlement and against the continual rebirth of revisionist expansionism in the FRG.

Our cooperation and joint action is developing dynamically and comprehensively, bringing with it mutual advantages. The decisions adopted during the course of mutual summit meetings held in both states during the years 1982-84 gave it a new impetus.

We wish to assure you that Poland will continue to strengthen and broaden the fraternal bonds of alliance, friendship, and cooperation between our states and peoples to the benefit of both our countries, in the name of the continual strengthening of the unity and cohesion of all the states of the socialist community, and in the interests of peace and security in Europe and the world.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers,

Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the PPR State Council.

CSO: 2600/883

POLAND

#### 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF NAVY OBSERVED

AU050709 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Jul 85 pp 1, 2

[Staffer report: "The 40th Anniversary of the Navy"]

[Excerpts] The Navy celebrated its 40th anniversary on 29 and 30 June, although it was officially established on 7 July 1945. However, the anniversary celebrations have for years been held on the last Sunday in June, which is also designated as Sea Day.

On 29 June the Military Council held a solemn session in Oksywie on the Navy's anniversary. The session was followed by an anniversary function, which was attended by PZPR Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus; General of Arms Jozef Baryla, vice minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces; Admiral Janczyszyn, commander of the Navy; and Jerzy Korzonek, head of the Office for the Maritime Economy.

Speaking on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense, J. Baryla highly evaluated naval training and educational activities and stressed that the cadres committed to ideology and possessing high specialist qualifications play a special role in such training. He said that these cadres determine to a great extent the ideopolitical image and combat readiness of naval crews and units.

Speaking of the threats to our national security on account of the arms race promoted by the U.S. administration, J. Baryla stressed the role and importance of the Polish People's Armed Forces, including the Polish Navy, in the coalition defense system of the Warsaw Pact, which ensures peace.

In conclusion, on behalf of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is the head of the PPR Armed Forces, and of Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, J. Baryla extended thanks to the officers and sailors for their efforts to defend our maritime borders and wished them further successes in discharging their naval duties.

CSO: 2600/883

POLAND

#### 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF VICTORY

AU041937 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 5 (signed to press 14 May 85) pp 5-15

[Article by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense and PZPR Politburo candidate member: "The 40th Anniversary of Victory"]

[Excerpts] Important events, the round anniversaries of which occur this May, are historically important and politically and ideologically identical. When 40 years ago the might of the Third Reich disintegrated under the blows of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the peace-loving nations and the working people in Europe and worldwide hoped that the costly victory over genocidal Hitlerism would initiate lasting peace, a cause to which the Warsaw Pact, a defense alliance of the socialist countries, has been dedicated for the past 30 years. This pact was concluded in order to defend peace in Europe against the fatal actions of the West's imperialist circles, especially of the U.S. Government, aimed at overthrowing the order in Europe established as a result of the victory over fascism.

The most important political result of World War II is the fact that a socialist country became the chief victory and that thanks to this fact the truth about the virtues of the socialist system was confirmed in all its clarity and reached the awareness of the working masses in many countries. Moreover, the attractiveness of this system increased in the eyes of people, especially of all the peoples fighting for national independence and social liberation. This was of great importance for many European and Asian countries in achieving successes in this struggle and in liberating themselves from the capitalist system.

The most aggressive imperialist power--Hitlerite Germany, fascist Italy, and militaristic Japan--were defeated in World War II, but none of the victorious capitalist countries, except the United States, was able to expand or even to preserve its possessions and influence. Only the United States gained in strength at the cost of its imperialist adversaries and allies.

Imperialism did not like the new political-territorial order established as a result of World War II. That is why the day after the Berlin victory the doctrines of "stemming communism," "rolling back communism," or "liberating" the socialist countries began to be formulated. They were calculated to revise and annul the decisions made in Yalta and Potsdam. Truman and

Churchill's plans based on the argument of the "nuclear bomb" provoked the arms race and sought to achieve a strategic superiority over the USSR and the other countries of real socialism.

From the very first postwar years the United States has sought to impose its leadership on the world and to liquidate socialism. For this reason it has employed various economic, political, and military means and has often used force or threatened to use it. From the notorious "Marshall Plan" through the sanctions against Poland we have witnessed this process of economic manipulation backed up by political pressure, ideological subversion, and military actions.

Violating the Yalta and Potsdam decisions on Germany, the Western states continued to abandon demilitarization and de-nazification in their zones of occupation and to mount the political structures of German militarism. In September 1949 they set up the FRG. As was the case after World War I, not quite 10 years after World War II Germany began to rebuild its economic and military might with the help of the Western powers and to get ready to attack the decisions made by the countries representing the coalition of the victors. The analogies between the two wars were too obvious not to be discerned, not to understand the gravity of the situation, and not to take measures to strengthen the security of the socialist countries.

The signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance by the European countries in Warsaw on 14 May 1955 was such an important measure, taken after many efforts to create a system of collective security in Europe had failed. This treaty, which was named after our capital, was in response to yet another action taken by the imperialist countries to threaten the socialist countries--the admission of the FRG to NATO.

The PPR is one of the sponsors of the Warsaw Pact and is an active and reliable member of it. Ideological unity, identity of political goals, and the favorable geographical position of the socialist countries are the links between these countries and Poland. This was the reason why we devised a joint and mutually advantageous system for defending our territories. The continued membership of People's Poland in the socialist defense coalition is the necessary and best guarantee of our security.

Close cooperation and mutual assistance in line with the principles of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA enable Poland to equip and modernize its armed forces in a planned manner. We owe this primarily to our advantageous cooperation with the USSR which, possessing a modern economic and technological potential, assumed most of the task of solving the problem of the strategic defense means. This makes it possible for Poland and the other allied countries to focus their efforts on developing the tactical and operational resources.

It should be stressed that the entire process of perfecting Poland's defense and Armed Forces continues in line with its economic potential and the kind of tasks we have to accomplish under the coalition plans. This also applies to the other socialist countries. Our contribution toward implementing these

plans is considerable because we possess a telling economic, political, and manpower potential as well as an effective defense system, the main component part of which is a well trained and well commanded Army, which possesses modern combat equipment.

Our commands, staffs, schools, and scientific research institutes continue to devise valuable solutions in fields of the strategic and operational theoretical thought, training, upbringing, as well as the technical equipment and organization of the Armed Forces.

Joint maneuvers play an important role in allied cooperation. They help to improve the system of command, cooperation, and modern operations of all the armed services and to develop masterly combat skills of soldiers. These maneuvers also help to intensify the internationalist ties and brotherhood in arms among the Warsaw Pact soldiers.

Today the struggle for the same ideals for which the best sons of the anti-Hitlerite coalition gave their lives is continuing. This is eloquently attested to by the fact that U.S. imperialism has included missiles in the arsenal of its weapons and continues to deploy these missiles in Western Europe in order to undermine the present strategic-military balance and to obtain superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries.

The consistent policy on internationalist cohesion, reliable defense might, and brotherhood in arms of the socialist countries continue to be their unchangeable imperatives.

CSO: 2600/883

POLAND

# COUNCIL OF STATE APPOINTS NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] The Council of State has appointed the National Electoral Commission. Its members are the electors proposed by the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council and by the top authorities of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasants Alliance (ZSL), the Democratic Alliance (SD), the "PAX" Association, the Christian Social Association (ChSS) and the Polish Union of Lay Catholics (PZKS). Its officers are Adam Zielinski, Chief Judge of the Supreme Administrative Court--Chairman; Zbigniew Moczniak, Chairman of the ZSL Supreme Party Court; Piotr Frankowski, secretary of the CC SD; Barbara Enholc-Narzynska, member of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council and Director of the Bible Society in Warsaw--Vice-Chairmen; Witold Gadomski, Deputy Head of the CC PZPR's Political and Organizational Department--Secretary.

Members are Bernadeta Bozek, headmistress of an elementary school at Sobieski (Kalisz Voivodship); Jerzy Breitkopf, head of the Chancellery of the Council of State; Leszek Brojanowski, Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Trades Union Alliance; Ryszard Drecki, board member of the "PAX" Association; Maria Gapinska, master at a department of the Obroncow Pokoju Cotton Mill's weaving plant; Tadeusz Kojder, Deputy Head of the Political Headquarters of the Polish Army; Jan Labecki, welder at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk; Krzysztof Majewski, ChSS board member; Ryszard Margas, miner at the Sosnica coalmine in Gliwice; Jan Ozdzinski, Chairman of the PZKS branch in Poznan and a scientist at the Poznan Academy of Physical Education; Tadeusz Roman, Director of the Central Laboratory of the Tobacco Industry in Cracow; Marcin Skrok, Deputy Head of the ZSL's Executive Committee's Organizational Department; Zbigniew Sobotka, Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and employee of the Warszawa Steel Mill; Michal Jerzy Zaczek, private farmer from Siedlce Voivodship and Chairman of the Gmina Board of the Union of Rural Youth at Wola Myslowska; and Krystyna Zielinska, chief accountant at the Producers' Cooperative's Region Center for Welfare in Wroclaw.

CSO: 2020/162

POLAND

## STRUCTURE, AIMS OF WARSAW PACT REVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 19, 12 May 85, No 20, 19 May 85

[12 May 85 p 21]

[Text] In the past as now, the cooperation of the member states of the Warsaw Pact has aimed at peace, at ensuring the security of the member states. The structure and organization of the pact are likewise subordinated to this goal.

### Political Advisory Committee; Principles of Consultation

The primary organ of the Warsaw Pact is the Political Advisory Committee [DKP]. Its tasks and makeup are defined by article 6 of the pact that states:

"For the purpose of conducting the consultations stipulated in the foregoing pact (...) and in order to examine cases arising in conjunction with the execution of the foregoing pact, the Political Advisory Committee is created, in which each state-side of the pact shall be represented by a member of the government or by another specially designated representative."

The DKP organizes consultations of three types:

- those concerned with more important international affairs that deal with the interests of all parties;
- those to ensure the common defense and preservation of peace in every instance that, in the opinion of any of the parties, the threat of armed attack on one or several of the states-sides of the pact has arisen;
- in the event of an armed attack on one or several of the states-sides of the pact, to determine the joint steps to be taken to restore and maintain international peace and security.

All resolutions of the Political Advisory Committee are based on the principle of unanimity in an expression of the principle of the equality and sovereignty of every member states of the pact. Decisions of the committee are binding.

Due to the importance of the decisions made by the DKP, as a rule the following take part in its efforts: the first secretaries of the communist



and workers parties, the chairmen of the councils of ministers, the ministers of foreign affairs, the defense ministers and the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces.

#### The Foreign Affairs Ministers Committee

The Foreign Affairs Ministers Committee was appointed in November 1976 at a meeting of the DKP in Bucharest. The committee is involved with examining cases delegated by the DKP, it improves the mechanisms of political cooperation within the framework of the pact and it makes assessment of the current international situation. For example, in the recent past, it was engaged in implementing the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] and in the preparation of the Madrid meeting of CSCE participants.

#### Defense Ministers Committee

The Defense Ministers Committee performs an important role to improve the defense capabilities of the member states of the Warsaw Pact. Its work encompasses the most important problems of strengthening the defense capabilities of the allied states and of developing and improving the United Armed Forces [ZSZ]. This task is performed strictly according to the requirements of party and state leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries and the basic principles of their cooperation. All of the committee's work is based on democratic principles, taking into account the interests of all the allied states and respecting their sovereignty.

The defense ministers chair the meetings of the committee on a rotating basis, according to the alphabetical order of states. The meetings are held on the territory of the country whose minister is the current committee chairman. Generally, meetings are held once a year, but in the event of need, they are called more frequently (in 1983 they took place three times, the reason being the danger emanating from the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe).

The Defense Ministers Committee holds the primary position among the military organs of the Warsaw Pact.

#### The United Command

The United Command, set up in conjunction with the Warsaw Pact, is of great importance for strengthening the defenses of allied countries and for deepening cooperation between the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact. Article 5 of the pact states:

"The contracting parties have come to an understanding on the matter of creating a United Command from those of their own armed forces that will be assigned, in accordance with an understanding between the contracting parties, to exercise this command, operating on the basis of jointly established principles."

The United Command implements decisions made at the deliberations of the Political Advisory Committee, as well as those made by the governments of the allied countries, in the area of raising the level of combat training of their own armies and their constant defense readiness.

At the head of the United Command stands the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces, appointed by the terms of the resolution of governments of the member states of the pact. In his work, the supreme commander is guided by the decisions of these governments and DKP guidelines.

The makeup of the United Command includes the deputies of the Supreme Commander, appointed by the governments of the particular member states of the pact. They are the deputies of the ministers of defense. They engage in work in the area of preparing the national contingents of the armies assigned to make up the United Armed Forces and maintaining them at a high level of combat readiness. They perform their work in close cooperation with the organs of military leadership of the Warsaw Pact, especially the Military Council and the United Armed Forces Headquarters.

The Military Council of the United Armed Forces is led by the supreme commander. It also includes his deputies, including deputies from the arms of every allied army. The council examines problems of the development and readiness of armies and navies. Its meetings generally take place twice yearly. The work of this organ is advisory in nature; however, its recommendations are implemented in all allied armies, since they are made jointly, taking into account the opinions and interests of all interested parties.

The United Armed Forces Headquarters is the steering organ of the supreme commander and the working organ of the Defense Ministers Committee. It examines a broad range of problems related to the life and the work of armies and navies. The headquarters plans long-range and annual joint ventures, generalizes the experiences of army and naval training and prepares recommendations concerning the application of these experiences. One of the most important tasks of headquarters is to prepare and implement joint maneuvers, exercises and war games.

In its work, the headquarters operates according to close, friendly contact between the general staffs of the allied armies.

One of the military organs of the Warsaw Pact is the Technical Committee of the United Armed Forces. Its work is tied in with the preparation of new types of arms and the equipping of the allied armies with new combat equipment. The committee performs its tasks in close contact with the respective national organs in charge of problems of the production and improvement of military technology and armaments.

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The principles of military cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact encompass such problems as working out uniform views on questions of current strategy, task force strategy and tactics, task force and combat

training and the comprehensive improvement of combat readiness.

The forms of this cooperation and joint activity are implemented systematically and are improved through:

- the inspiration and outlining of the major directions of defense activity by the leadership organs of the Warsaw Pact;
- the coordination of the training plans of headquarters and armies, joint training sessions, war games and maneuvers conducted in coalition;
- the exchange of military-technological knowhow, the mutual application of achievements in this field;
- the mutual visits of military delegations in allied armies;
- the consultative exchange of experiences, scholarly symposiums, contact between military institutions and units, lecture campaigns, the use of military periodicals;
- the standardization of norms, instructions, codes of regulations and other regulations based on the best experiences of all allied armies.

[19 May 85 p 21]

[Text] The member countries of the Warsaw Pact, signing the Pact on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid in May 1955, at the same time attended to the creation of the United Armed Forces [ZSZ]. Each country assigns properly trained contingents of their armies to make up this force. The government of each state determines how they will be outfitted, their makeup, organization, arms and technical equipment, taking into consideration the recommendations of the Political Advisory Committee, the Defense Ministers Committee and the ZSZ United Command, depending upon the economic and military capabilities of the given country-signer of the Warsaw Pact.

The armies and the naval-military forces assigned to make up the United Armed Forces continue to be subordinate to the national ministers of national defense, who shoulder the entire responsibility before their country's leaders for the numbers, the equipping, the combat readiness, the military training and the behavior of armies. Their life and activity are defined by binding laws in the given country, as well as by military regulations and codes of regulations. This is proof of the total sovereignty of each state-signer of the Warsaw Pact and of the implementation of the principle of the equal rights of every member country.

The United Armed Forces include land armies, antiaircraft defense armies, air forces and naval-military forces.

Since 1955, the ZSZ have developed qualitatively and today, equipped with modern weaponry and combat equipment, they fully meet the requirements of the modern field of battle.

The combat capabilities of land armies have grown considerably due to their saturation with defense missiles, modern armored weapons, self-propelled artillery, means of antiaircraft defense, antiaircraft defense missiles and other types of equipment and arms.

There is no comparing the air force with its state in the 1950's. It is new in terms of the kinds of armed forces branches, equipped with planes that have automatic systems of guiding weapons, alterable wing geometry and various types of defense missiles and bombs.

Antiaircraft defense armies have undergone a basic change. They are equipped with antiaircraft defense missiles and modern fighter planes. They are able to battle effectively all existing means of air attack.

The combat capabilities of naval fleets have increased. They have been equipped with the most modern ships and submarines, planes and defense missiles.

The saturation of armies and navies with new types of arms and combat equipment has necessitated an improvement in their organizational structure and changes in the way combat activities are conducted. Today, the United Armed Forces have units and tactical groups that are organized in a modern manner and possess a high level of commander, staff and soldier preparedness.

The means used by the Warsaw Pact states in the military field do not endanger the security of other countries and nations. On the contrary, these means aim at stabilizing the international situation and at preserving and maintaining peace. In strengthening their security, the socialist countries assume that an increase in their defense potential will reduce the temptation of potential aggressors to test their strength and will ensure greater guarantees of peace.

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The stationing of the United Armed Forces on the territories of the Warsaw Pact countries is regulated by understandings between the particular states. These understandings take into consideration the specific defense needs of the given state or the entire community. This explains, for example, the stationing of contingents of Soviet defense forces on the territory of Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

With regard to Poland, an agreement was concluded between the PRL government and the government of the USSR on 17 December 1956. In the face of the dangers and tensions of the international situation and, given the fact that German militarism had reawakened, "both sides arrived at the conclusion... that the temporary stationing of units of Soviet soldiers was still desirable."

The location of the stationing of Soviet armies is the specific locality plus the necessary installations assigned in the agreement. The movement of these armies outside this stationing area requires the approval of the Polish government or other appropriate Polish officials.

On the basis of the previously mentioned agreement and the Polish-Soviet declaration from 18 November 1956, the temporary presence of Soviet units in Poland is contingent upon the development of the international situation. Furthermore, the size and deployment of these armies is determined through joint consultation.

The declaration and article 1 of the previously mentioned agreement state that "the temporary stationing of Soviet armies in Poland may in no way violate the sovereignty of the Polish state and may not lead to their intervention in the internal affairs of Poland."

#### Allied Drills

Joint exercises of the allied armies play an important role towards improving the defense capabilities of the Warsaw Pact. Since the 1960's, they have taken place each year either on the level of the particular armed forces branches or as strategic-task force operations, encompassing the various armed forces branches. Some of the more important drills include:

- "Odra" conducted on Polish territory in 1962,
- "Kwartet" and "Burza Październikowa" (1964 and 1965) in the GDR,
- "Weltawa" in 1966 on Czechoslovakian territory,
- "Rodopy" in 1967 in Bulgaria,
- "Dniepr" in 1967 in the USSR (with only Soviet Army units participating),
- "Odra-Nysa-69" in Poland,
- "Braterstwo Broni" in 1970 on GDR territory,
- "Przyjazn-82" on Polish territory,
- "Tarcza-82" in Bulgaria,
- "Sojuz-83" and "Tarcza-84" with the participation of the allied armies of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Poland.

The interallied exercises of the United Armed Forces are a test of the training of soldiers and the organizational efficiency of commanders and staffs. They are a practical school for the joint combat action of the soldiers of the allied armies and for improving the skills of commanders and staffs in organizing battles. On the basis of the experience that has been gained, recommendations are formulated for all the armies of the Warsaw Pact in the areas of training, organization, equipping and, especially, directing combat activities. Coalitional exercises likewise act as an important testing ground for the verification and continued development of theoretical military thought.

The evaluations given on completion of each drill show that, within the framework of the United Armed Forces, the particular armies have achieved a high degree of unanimity and harmony of theory and military practice; they have brought up the level of combat skill and organizational efficiency. This guarantees a high level of readiness to perform tasks related to the defense of the socialist community.

#### The Polish People's Army

It is the second largest army in the Warsaw Pact. Polish soldiers standing in guard of the homeland simultaneously protect the security of the socialist community and make a significant contribution to the defense strength of the coalition.

The attitude of our soldiers arouses the respect of enemies and the recognition of friends. Words of high praise were expressed recently by the USSR defense

minister, Soviet Marshal Sergej Sokolov. During a visit to the oldest LWP [Polish People's Army] unit, the First Prague Mechanized Regiment, he said:

"We are impressed with the striving of Polish soldiers for combat skills, for acquiring the practical skills to utilize modern weapons and technical equipment, with their efforts to maintain military order and with the good organization of all undertakings. We are pleased with the fact that you are reverent in your cultivation and strengthening of the glorious traditions of the Soviet-Polish brotherhood-in-arms and that, through your training effort, you are strengthening the combat alliance that joins the armies of the Warsaw Pact."

Army General Florian Siwicki, national defense minister, spoke of our contribution to the coalition system of defense at this same meeting:

"Poland, the Polish People's Army, makes a necessary contribution to strengthening the defense force of the socialist community and to increasing the power of the Warsaw Pact that now celebrates its 30th anniversary. The powerful Soviet Army is, unchangingly, the principle element of this pact. We shall do everything possible to improve our brotherly cooperation, as we did years ago in joint combat, so too today in the training of soldiers in garrisons and on the testing ground, in the coalitional system of defense readiness."

8536

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POLAND

TEXT OF NEW ELECTIONS LAW PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 26, 8 Jun 85 item 112 pp 293-304

[Text] Law No 112 Dated 29 May 1985: Electoral Law to the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland

Chapter 1. General Principles.

Art[icle] 1. The working people elect their representatives for Sejm deputies from among citizens with an unblemished political-moral stature and a commitment to public work, who pledge that they will exercise properly the mandate entrusted to them for the good of their constituents and the entire society in accordance with the constitutional principles of the system of the People's Republic of Poland.

Art 2. Elections to the Sejm are held on the basis of the electoral declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which serves as the foundation for all-national discussion on the crucial questions of the development of Poland and the strengthening of the State.

Art 3. Elections to the Sejm are held according to the principles and procedure specified in the herein law and the regulations issued on its basis.

Art 4. 1. Elections are universal. Every citizen that, on the day of the election, has reached his 18th year has the right to vote, regardless of sex, national and racial affiliation, religion, education, length of residence in the voting precinct, social background, profession or financial status.

2. Any citizen who has the right to vote may be elected to the Sejm, if he has attained 21 years of age on the day of the election.

Art 5. 1. The following do not have the right to vote:

- 1) those that are partially or totally incapacitated according to a legally valid court ruling due to mental illness,
- 2) those deprived of public rights through a legally valid court ruling,

3) those deprived of electoral rights by a legally valid ruling of the Tribunal of State.

2. The following persons do not participate in voting:

- 1) those imprisoned or under arrest,
- 2) those placed in social rehabilitation facilities,
- 3) those provisionally under arrest.

Art 6. Elections are equal. Voters participate in elections on the basis of the principles of equality.

Art 7. Elections are direct. Voters elect deputies directly; votes may be cast only in person.

Art 8. Elections are held by secret ballot. The polling place must have an area closed off to ensure the secrecy of voting. Ballots are enclosed in an envelope and are cast into a sealed ballot box.

Art 9. 1. Elections are ordered by the Council of State not later than 1 month preceding the end of the Sejm term.

2. The resolution ordering elections appoints a date for elections on a day legally free from work that falls within 2 months of the end of the Sejm term. The resolution likewise sets the electoral calendar that specifies the dates of execution of the particular electoral activities; however, the dates specified in the resolution may not be later than the deadlines specified in the herein law.

3. The resolution ordering elections is published in the DZIENNIK USTAW of the People's Republic of Poland not later than 90 days preceding the date of the election.

Art 10. 1. The Sejm is made up of 460 deputies.

2. The term of the Sejm is reckoned from the date of the election.

Art 11. 1. Deputies are elected:

- 1) from district electoral lists,
- 2) from the national electoral list.

2. Deputies are elected from the national electoral list in the number established by the Council of State, but no greater than 15 percent of the total number of deputies.

3. The resolution concerning the number of deputies elected from the national electoral list is published according to the procedure and deadline specified in art 9 par 3.



Art 12. Elections are conducted by social organs: electoral conventions and commissions.

## Chapter 2. Electoral Districts.

Art 13. 1. Electoral districts are created for conducting elections.

2. An electoral district is the area of a province or a part of a province.

Art 14. The number of deputies elected in the particular electoral districts is established according to the number of residents of the given electoral district.

Art 15. 1. The Council of State establishes the number of electoral districts, their boundaries and their numerical size, as well as the number of deputies elected in the particular districts.

2. In setting up the electoral districts, the Council of State likewise designates the headquarters of the district electoral commissions.

Art 16. The Council of State resolution concerning the subject matter of article 15 is published in the MONITOR POLSKI, the official record of the People's Republic of Poland and is made known to voters via notice boards not later than 85 days before the date of the election.

## Chapter 3. Electoral Precincts.

Art 17. Electoral precincts are created for conducting elections.

Art. 18. 1. An electoral precinct should be made up of 1,000 to 3,000 residents.

2. In cases specially warranted by local conditions, electoral precincts may be created that are made up of a greater or lesser number of residents than those specified in par 1.

3. In places of the permanent or temporary residence of voters residing there in conjunction with work, study, the performance of vital service in civil defense or medical or social care, separate voting precincts may be created.

Art 19. 1. The presidiums of the people's councils at the primary level, at the recommendation of the local organs of the state administration concerning the general competence of the primary level, create voting precincts and determine their number and boundaries and designate the headquarters of precinct electoral commissions.

2. Resolutions concerning the number and boundaries of voting precincts and the headquarters of precinct electoral commissions are made known to voters via notice boards not later than 55 days before the date of the election.

Art 20. 1. The commanders of military districts create electoral precincts for voters quartered (residing) in an area of military units. [These precincts] are made up of 50 to 3,000 voters. [The commanders] also designate the headquarters of the precincts electoral commissions.

2. The precincts named in par 1 make up the electoral district, bounded by the military units stationed there for whom the electoral precincts has been created.

3. The regulations in pars 1 and 2 apply accordingly to military units subject to the minister of internal affairs. The appropriate commanders of armies subject to the minister of internal affairs are entitled accordingly to the rights of the commanders of the military districts stipulated in par 1.

Art 21. 1. The number of electoral precincts discussed in art 20 is determined by agreement with the presidium of the appropriate provincial people's council.

2. The commanders named in art 20 ensure that voters are informed of the creation of the precinct, its number and the headquarters of the precinct electoral commission.

Art 22. Voting precincts on Polish ships out at sea on election day are created by the presidiums of the primary level people's councils for the location of the shipowner's headquarters, upon the recommendation of the shipowner, made not later than 5 days prior to election day. It is possible to dispense with the creation of a voting precinct on a ship whose crew numbers fewer than 20 voters or when there is a lack of technical possibilities for transmitting the results of the voting. One voting precinct may be created for several ships making the same journey. The resolution concerning the creation of electoral precincts specifies their affiliation with the appropriate electoral districts with regard to the shipowner's headquarters.

Art 23. 1. Electoral precincts may be created for Polish citizens living abroad. The electoral precincts are created by the minister of foreign affairs, who designates the headquarters of precinct electoral commissions.

2. The electoral precincts discussed in par 1 are part of the electoral district for the Warsaw-Center City quarter.

#### Chapter 4. Voters' Lists.

Art 24. 1. The local organs of the state administration at the primary level appropriate for matters of population censuses draw up the lists of voters reported in the gmina [parish], city or quarter permanently or temporarily in residence on election day.

2. The lists do not include those persons discussed in art 5.

3. The voters' list gives the last name, first name, father's name, date of birth and address of the place of permanent or temporary residence of the voter.

4. The voters' list is drawn up in triplicate separately for each voting precinct. The voters' list should be signed and affixed with the seal of the official by whom it has been prepared.

Art 25. A voter who changes his place of residence after the voters' list has been prepared, upon making a request to the official who has prepared the voters' list, receives a right-to-vote certificate that authorizes him to participate in voting in the electoral precinct of the voter's current place of residence.

Art 26. The local organs of the state administration at the primary level appropriate for matters of population censuses cancel from voters' lists those persons:

- 1) to whom a voting right certificate has been issued,
- 2) who have announced a trip abroad for a temporary stay longer than 2 months, if this stay includes election day.

Art 27. 1. The minister of internal affairs, by decree, defines the principles of the preparation and updating of voters' lists and of the issuance of a right-to-vote certificate. He also prepares the form for the voters' list and the right-to-vote certificate.

2. The manner of preparing and updating the voters' lists for the voting precincts discussed in arts 20, 22 and 23 is determined, by decree, accordingly by: the minister of national defense, the minister that directs the Office of Maritime Economy and the minister of foreign affairs by agreement with the minister of internal affairs.

3. The minister of justice, by agreement with the minister of internal affairs, defines the procedure for submitting information about the persons discussed in art 5.

Art 28. 1. The list of voters is sent no later than 30 days before election day to the chairmen of precinct electoral commissions.

2. No later than 28 days before election day, precinct electoral commissions display the voters' list for public viewing at commission headquarters, for at least 14 days, 5 hours per day, at a time of day convenient for workers.

3. Precinct electoral commissions may work to facilitate the ascertainment of the correct placement of voters on the list.

Art 29. 1. During the period of the displaying of the voters' list, notification of inaccuracies in the list, and especially the omission or inclusion on the list of specific persons, may be made to the official who has drawn up the list.

2. The notification is either entered verbally in the record or is entered in written form via the precinct electoral commission that has displayed the voters' list.

3. The notification is subject to examination for 3 days from the date of entry.

4. Having examined the notification, the official who has drawn up the voters' list:

- 1) adds to or corrects the list or
- 2) crosses off the individual whom the notification concerns from the list, substantiating his decision or
- 3) does not take into account the notification, providing the person making the notification with a substantiation of his decision.

Art 30. 1. With regard to a decision that does not take into account the notification or that causes voters to be crossed off the list, the person making the notification or the person crossed off the list may render a complaint to the appropriate regional court for the place where the list was compiled. The appealed decision must be attached to the complaint.

2. The regulation in par 1 applies correspondingly to a refusal to issue a right-to-vote certificate.

3. The court examines the case, represented by one judge and two assessors, applying appropriately the regulations of the civil procedure code on the nonlitigious proceeding. The hearing should take place within 3 days of the date of rendering of the complaint. The court substantiates the decision that concludes the proceeding on the case and submits it to the person rendering the complaint and the official who has compiled the voters' list. No appeal may be made against the court's decision.

Art 31. The notifications in matters of electoral lists in the voting precincts discussed in art 22 and 23 are examined accordingly by the captains of Polish ships out at sea on election day or by the heads of diplomatic missions or consular offices. Decisions made in these cases are final.

#### Chapter 5. Electoral Commissions.

Art 32. The following are appointed to conduct elections:

- 1) a State Electoral Commission,
- 2) district electoral commissions,
- 3) precinct electoral commissions.

Art 33. 1. The tasks of the State Electoral Commission include:

- 1) supervising the strict observance of electoral law regulations,
- 2) registering the national electoral list and announcing data regarding

the candidates for deputies that are on this list,

3) ordering the printing of ballots for voting on the deputies elected from the national electoral list,

4) examining appeals against the resolutions of district electoral commissions and complaints against the work of these commissions,

5) determining and announcing the results of Sejm elections,

6) giving the deputies elected to the Sejm written confirmation of their election,

7) submitting election reports to the Sejm according to the procedure prescribed by the Council of State.

2. In implementing the tasks defined in par 1, the State Electoral Commission provides electoral commissions with guidelines and clarifications as they are needed.

Art 34. The tasks of the district electoral commission include:

1) supervising the strict observance of electoral law regulations within the electoral district,

2) registering the district electoral list and announcing data regarding the candidates for deputies that are on this list,

3) ordering the printing of ballots for voting on the deputies elected from the district electoral list,

4) examining complaints against the work of precinct electoral commissions,

5) determining the results of voting on the district electoral list and the results of voting on the national electoral list within the electoral district and submitting them to the State Electoral Commission.

Art 35. The tasks of the precinct electoral commission include:

1) displaying the voters' list for public viewing,

2) conducting voting in the precinct,

3) on election day, supervising the observance of electoral law regulations in the place and at the time of voting,

4) determining voting results in the precinct and submitting them to the appropriate district electoral commission.

Art 36. 1. The State Electoral Commission is made up of: the chairman, 2 to 4 deputy chairmen, the secretary and 15 members.

2. The district electoral commission includes: the chairman, 1 to 3 deputy chairmen, the secretary and 8 to 12 members.

3. The precinct electoral commission includes: the chairman, the deputy chairman, the secretary and four to eight members.

Art 37. 1. The Council of State appoints the State Electoral Commission, no later than 85 days before election day, from among the voters proposed by the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and by the chief officials of: the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the PAX Association, the Christian Social Association and the Polish Catholic-Social Union.

2. District electoral commissions are appointed by the presidiums of the appropriate territorial provincial people's councils, no later than 80 days before election day, from among the voters proposed by the presidiums of the provincial councils of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and the provincial authorities of the organizations named in par 1.

3. Precinct electoral commissions are appointed from among voters no later than 45 days before election day:

1) in gminas, cities and quarters, by the presidiums of the appropriate territorial people's councils at the primary level,

2) in military units, by the presidiums of provincial people's councils.

4. Precinct electoral commissions in the voting precincts named in arts 22 and 23 are appointed from among voters by the captains of Polish ships and by the heads of diplomatic missions or consular offices. The procedure, the principles and the deadlines for appointing these commissions are determined, by decree, accordingly by the minister who heads the Office of Maritime Economy and the minister of foreign affairs.

Art 38. 1. The Council of State establishes the code of regulations of the State Electoral Commission and the district and precinct electoral commissions, defining in particular: the procedure for commission work, the principles for supervising the work of district and precinct electoral commissions and the manner of filling out the membership of electoral commissions.

2. The Council of State determines:

1) the forms for the stamps of electoral commissions,

2) the forms for the registration records of electoral lists,

3) the forms for voting records,

4) the forms for giving written confirmation of election.

Art 39. A person who is a member of an electoral commission ceases being a member from the moment that a list of deputy candidates that includes his candidacy is registered.

Art 40. 1. Persons serving on electoral commissions perform their functions gratuitously; they are entitled to a per diem and reimbursement of travel expenses according to the principles and in the amount established by the Council of State.

2. A plant that employs a person serving on an electoral commission is obliged to give that person time off for the indispensable period of participation in the work of the commission, while preserving his right to an emolument and other benefits emanating from his work position, calculated as though he had worked during this time.

3. Persons that serve on electoral commissions enjoy the legal protection stipulated for public officials.

Art 41. The Council of State dissolves the State Electoral Commission and district and precinct electoral commissions when their work is completed.

#### Chapter 6. Electoral Conventions

Art 42. The All-Poland Electoral Convention and provincial electoral conventions are set up to nominate candidates for deputies from those persons proposed by the authorized organizations.

Art 43. 1. The All-Poland Electoral Convention is composed of:

1) representatives of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and the chief officials of: the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the PAX Association, the Christian Social Association and the Polish Catholic-Social Union, for a combined total of three-fifths of the membership of the convention.

2) representatives (delegates) of the chief officials or of national understandings: trade unions, socioprofessional organizations of farmers, socialist youth unions, combatants' organizations and women's organizations, for a combined total of two-fifths of the membership of the convention.

2. The All-Poland Electoral Convention is chaired by a representative of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

3. A provincial electoral convention is composed of:

1) representatives of the provincial council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and of the provincial authorities of the organizations named in par 1 point 1, for a combined total of three-fifths of the membership of the convention.

2) representatives (delegates) of the provincial authorities or of provincial understandings of the organizations named in par 1 point 2, for a combined

total of two-fifth of the membership of the convention.

Art 44. Electoral conventions commence their work after announcing their formation to the Council of State:

- 1) The All-Poland Electoral Convention, not later than 85 days before election day,
- 2) provincial electoral conventions, not later than 80 days before election day.

Art 45. The All-Poland Electoral Convention:

- 1) receives the announcement of the deputy candidates elected from the national electoral list, presented by the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth,
- 2) sets up the national electoral list and announces it to the State Electoral Commission for registration,
- 3) designates delegates to the State Electoral Commission from among the persons proposed by the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth,
- 4) examines complaints against the work of provincial electoral conventions.

Art 46. The provincial electoral convention:

- 1) receives from authorized organizations or their understandings announcements of persons proposed for deputy candidates elected from district electoral lists in electoral districts created within the province,
- 2) sets up, from among the persons named in point 1, lists of proposed candidates for deputies, who will then be presented to the voters in the particular electoral districts,
- 3) sets up lists of candidates for deputies separately for each electoral district,
- 4) announces district electoral lists for registration to the appropriate district electoral commissions,
- 5) designates delegates to district and precinct electoral commissions from among the persons proposed by the presidium of the provincial council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

Art 47. The appropriate electoral convention has the exclusive power to set up lists of proposed candidates for deputies for presentation to voters, and then the candidates' list.

Art 48. 1. The All-Poland Electoral Convention sets up the form for the code of regulations of provincial electoral conventions and the procedure and



the principles for proceeding in matters of:

- 1) receiving from authorized organizations or their understandings announcements of persons proposed as candidates for deputies,
  - 2) setting up lists of proposed candidates for deputies, who will be presented to voters,
  - 3) setting up lists of candidates for deputies,
  - 4) filling out the memberships of electoral conventions.
2. Electoral conventions pass their own codes of work regulations.

Art 49. The Council of State determines:

- 1) the forms for the stamps of electoral conventions,
- 2) the forms for keeping records of the receipt of announcements of persons proposed as candidates for deputies from authorized organizations or their understandings,
- 3) the forms for announcing electoral lists to electoral commissions,
- 4) the procedure for directing delegates into electoral commissions,
- 5) the principles for preserving the documents of electoral conventions.

Art 50. 1. A person who is a member of a provincial electoral convention may not remain a member from the time that the list discussed in art 46 point 1 is set up, if that list includes his candidacy.

2. The regulations of art 40 apply accordingly to the members of electoral conventions and, with reference to delegates, the regulation in art 40, par 3 applies.

3. The work of the All-Poland Electoral Convention concludes with the day of the dissolution of the State Electoral Commission by the Council of State, and that of provincial electoral conventions concludes with the day of dissolution of district electoral commissions.

#### Chapter 7. Announcing Candidates for Deputies.

Art 51. 1. The right to nominate, to provincial electoral conventions, the persons proposed as candidates for deputies that have been elected from the district electoral lists is vested in the provincial authorities of the Polish United Workers Party, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the PAX Association, the Christian Social Association, the Polish Catholic-Social Union and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, as well as the provincial authorities or provincial understandings of: trade unions, socio-professional farmers' organizations, socialist youth unions, combatants'

organizations and women's organizations, as well as other social organizations of national scope that associate citizens in cities and rural areas.

2. The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth presents candidates for deputies elected from the national electoral list to the All-Poland Electoral Convention.

3. The All-Poland Electoral Convention determines the deadline until which the announcement of persons proposed as deputy candidates shall be accepted by electoral conventions from authorized organizations. The resolution of the All-Poland Electoral Convention is published in the MONITOR POLSKI, the official record of the People's Republic of Poland.

Art 52. Organizations authorized to present persons proposed as candidates for deputies may establish an intra-organizational procedure for nominating and discussing these persons.

Art 53. 1. Provincial electoral conventions set up lists of proposed candidates for deputies, for every electoral district, from among the persons nominated by authorized organizations or their understandings.

2. The All-Poland Electoral Convention and provincial electoral conventions present to voters proposed candidates for deputies in order to accumulate the opinions and remarks of voters regarding them.

Art 54. Proposed candidates for deputies are presented to voters:

- 1) at citizens' consultational meetings,
- 2) in the mass media.

Art 55. 1. Citizens' consultational meetings are organized by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The local organs of the state administration with the general competence of the primary level grant assistance in organizing these meetings.

2. The appropriate organs of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, in cooperation with the electoral conventions and the organizations that have set forth the proposed candidates for deputies, set up operating schedules of citizens' consultational meetings and announce them to voters within the given electoral district. The operating schedules give the specifics of the dates and locations of the meetings.

Art 56. 1. At the citizens' consultational meetings, the electoral declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is discussed, the candidates for deputies present at the meeting are introduced and the characteristics of all deputy candidates within the given electoral district and from the national electoral list are presented. Voters may voice their opinions and remarks on all candidates.

2. The representatives of electoral conventions and the organizations that have set forth candidates for deputies participate in citizen's consultational meetings. These meetings are chaired by a representative of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

3. Records are kept of what transpires during citizens' consultational meetings that detail the opinions and remarks made by voters about proposed deputy candidates. The record is signed by the chairman of the meeting and is submitted promptly to the provincial electoral convention.

Art 57. Electoral conventions, working in concert with the organizations that have set forth proposed candidates for deputies and the appropriate organs of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, work to effect the widespread presentation to voters of the persons proposed as candidates for deputies from district electoral lists and the national electoral list; to this end, they use particularly the mass media and other available forms of information and propaganda.

Art 58. 1. Voters may submit opinions and remarks about proposed candidates for deputies directly to the appropriate electoral conventions.

2. Every organ, institution and organization that receives an opinion or a remark about a proposed candidate for deputy has the duty to submit it promptly to the appropriate electoral convention.

#### Chapter 8. Electoral Lists.

Art 59. The electoral conventions, having examined the opinions and remarks of voters about proposed candidates for deputies, set up:

- 1) (the All-Poland Electoral Convention)--the national electoral list,
- 2) (provincial electoral conventions)--separately for each electoral district--district electoral lists.

Art 60. 1. The list of candidates for deputies may include only those persons that have been presented to voters according to the procedure outlined in art 56 or art 57.

2. A person may run only from one electoral list.

Art 61. 1. The district electoral list is divided into the particular mandates; each individual mandate lists two candidates, in the order established by the provincial electoral convention, giving their surnames, first names, age, profession, place of work and place of residence.

2. The national electoral list includes as many candidates as there are mandates for the list. This list includes the surnames, first names, age, profession, place of work and place of residence of candidates.

Art 62. 1. Electoral conventions announce the electoral lists that have been set up to electoral commissions: the All-Poland Electoral Convention makes its announcement to the State Electoral Commission and provincial electoral conventions make their announcements to the appropriate district electoral commissions.

2. The electoral list should be signed by the members of the electoral convention announcing the list and it should be stamped with its stamp; the announcement should be made no later than 30 days before election day.

3. The electoral convention attaches a written affirmation by the candidates for deputies assenting to their candidacy to every announced electoral list.

Art 63. 1. The appropriate electoral commission registers the electoral list announced in accordance with the regulations of the herein law, preparing a record of the registration of the list.

2. If an announced electoral list has errors, the electoral commission refuses to register the list and immediately calls on the electoral convention to rectify the errors pointed out in the list by a deadline determined by the commission.

3. By the deadline given by the commission, the electoral convention announces the corrected electoral list. In the event that the opinion of the district electoral commission is felt to be unwarranted, the provincial electoral convention may appeal to the State Electoral Commission, and if the matter concerns the national electoral list, the All-Poland Electoral Convention may recommend that the State Electoral Commission re-examine the case. An appeal or a recommendation should be submitted within 2 days of the date of the refusal to register the list. A decision of the State Electoral Commission made as a result of the examination of an appeal or a recommendation is final.

Art 64. 1. After the electoral lists are registered, the appropriate electoral commissions provide voters with data on the candidates for deputies, separately from each list, via notice boards placed no later than 20 days before election day.

2. If, due to the circumstances outlined in art 63, pars 2 and 3, the announcement of data on candidates by the prescribed deadline is impossible, it should take place immediately following the conclusion of the revocatory proceeding and should reflect its results.

Art 65. No later than 10 days before election day, the electoral convention may announce changes in the electoral list registered by it to the appropriate electoral commission. If the announcement meets the terms specified for the registration of the electoral list, the electoral commission makes changes according to the recommendation that has been made. Arts 63 and 64 apply accordingly.

Art 66. 1. For a period of 10 days before election day, an electoral convention may approach the appropriate electoral commission regarding crossing off a candidate for deputy from the registered electoral list. Based on the recommendation that it receives, the electoral commission crosses off the candidate for deputy. On its own initiative, the electoral commission crosses off a candidate for deputy who has died, lost the right of eligibility or withdrawn assent to his candidacy. The electoral commission immediately informs the electoral convention that the candidate has been crossed off; at this point no new candidate may be listed in the empty space.

2. All changes in registered electoral lists are immediately made known to voters by the electoral commission.

#### Chapter 9. Ballots.

Art 67. 1. The State Electoral Commission, having registered the national electoral list, orders the printing of the necessary quantity of ballots and ensures that they are supplied to precinct electoral commissions.

2. After the registration of district electoral lists, district electoral commissions order the printing of the necessary quantity of ballots, according to the procedure established by the State Electoral Commission, and ensure that they are supplied to precinct electoral commissions.

Art 68. 1. The first and last names of candidates are listed on the ballot according to their placement on the registered list.

2. A ballot may be printed only on one side.

3. A ballot should be stamped with the stamp of the appropriate electoral commission.

4. The Council of State sets up the forms of ballots.

Art 69. The procedure and the principles for setting up and distributing ballots for the precincts discussed in arts 22 and 23 are established accordingly by: the minister that heads the Office of Maritime Economy and the minister of foreign affairs, by agreement with the Council of State.

#### Chapter 10. Voting.

Art 70. 1. Voting is held at the headquarters of the precinct electoral commission without interruption from 6 am to 10 pm.

2. In special cases that are especially warranted by the recommendation of voters, a precinct electoral commission, with the approval of the district electoral commission, may set up an earlier time for voting to begin.

Art 71. Voting in the voting precincts discussed in arts 22 and 23 takes place between 6 am and 10 pm according to the local time. If the voting is to conclude on the day following election day at home, the voting is conducted on the day preceding election day.

Art 72. 1. Before voting begins, the precinct electoral commission checks whether the ballot box is empty, whether the voters' lists and a sufficient quantity of ballots and envelopes are on hand and whether the commission headquarters has enough easily accessible enclosed areas ensuring voting secrecy. After this, the ballot box is closed and stamped with the stamp of the commission.

2. From the time that the box is stamped until voting ends, the ballot box may not be opened.

Art 73. 1. From the time that voting begins until the time that the results are tabulated, at least three persons from the precinct electoral commission, one of whom should be the chairman of the commission, his deputy or the secretary, should be present uninterruptedly at the polling place.

2. The delegates selected by the appropriate electoral conventions have the right to be present at polling places on the day of voting.

Art 74. 1. The chairman of the precinct electoral commission watches to ensure voting secrecy and the preservation of order during the voting and may issue the appropriate instructions to maintain order.

2. Upon the request of the commission chairman, the local organ of the state administration having the general competence of the primary level ensures a guard according to his command.

Art 75. No agitation may be conducted at the polls on election day.

Art 76. 1. Before voting, the voter shows the precinct electoral commission his identification card or some other document verifying his identity.

2. A voter who is on the list but does not possess a document considered by the commission to be sufficient evidence of his identity may use the testimony of two reliable persons known to the commission. The decision of the commission in the matter of ascertaining identity is final.

3. The commission checks whether the given person is on the voters' list or whether he has a statement indicating his right to vote; the commission enters the name of a person submitting such a right-to-vote certificate into the voters' list and keeps the certificate in order to attach it to the list of voters.

Art 77. 1. After completing the actions named in art 76, the voter receives a ballot and an envelope from the commission.

2. In order to prevent someone from voting more than once, the commission places a mark next to his name on the voters' list when the voter is given his ballot and envelope.

Art 78. After receiving his ballot, the voter has the right to enter the enclosed area set up at the polling place.

Art 79. 1. In voting for candidates from the district electoral list, the voter votes for as many candidates as are to be elected in the given electoral district, according to the distribution of mandates evident on the ballot. For each mandate, the voter leaves the names of the candidates on the ballot for whom he votes unstricken.

2. For one or more mandates, leaving the names of both candidates on the ballot unstricken, the voter votes for that candidate that is listed first.

Art 80. In voting for candidates from the national electoral list, the voter votes for those candidates whose names are not stricken from the ballot.

Art 81. 1. The voter places his ballot into the ballot box in an envelope in the presence of the members of the precinct electoral commission.

2. The infirm who come to the polling place may use the assistance of other persons to vote.

Art 82. 1. At 10 pm, the chairman of the precinct electoral commission orders the polls closed. From that time, only those voters who have arrived at the polls before 10 pm may vote.

2. The precinct electoral commission may order an early end to voting, informing the district electoral commission of this, if all the voters on the voters' list have voted.

Art 83. 1. If, due to extraordinary occurrences, voting has become temporarily impossible, the precinct electoral commission, by agreement with the district electoral commission, may interrupt or extend it, or postpone it until the following day. These orders should be made public in the manner normally accepted in the given locality and they should be made known to the local organ of the state administration of the general competence of the primary level.

2. In the event that voting is interrupted or postponed, the commission seals the opening of the ballot box and transfers it to the chairman of the precinct electoral commission, who is responsible for its safekeeping. When voting resumes, the commission ascertains officially whether the seal has not been broken.

#### Chapter 11. Tabulating Voting Results in the Precinct.

Art 84. 1. Immediately following the end of voting, the precinct electoral commission begins to tabulate results.

2. Delegates may be present when the results are determined; they are entitled to the right to enter remarks and to mention specific accusations in the voting record.

Art 85. The chairman of the precinct electoral commission opens the ballot box, after which the commission determines separately for the voting on the district electoral list and the national electoral list:

- 1) the number of ballots turned in, i.e., the number of voters who have voted,
- 2) the number of ballots turned in that are found invalid, i.e., the number of invalid votes,
- 3) the number of ballots turned in that are found valid, i.e., the number of valid votes.

Art 86. 1. Votes are invalid if they are turned in on ballots:

- 1) other than those that have been tabulated officially or ballots that are not stamped with the stamp of the appropriate electoral commission,
  - 2) that are torn into two or more pieces.
2. The adding of additional names to the ballot or the making of other marks has no legal consequences and does not affect the validity of the voting.
3. Votes turned in on ballots that have been crossed out entirely, or on which the names of all candidates have been stricken are valid.

Art 87. After determining the number of valid votes, the precinct electoral commission sets about tabulating the number of votes cast for the particular candidates, separately for the district electoral list and the national electoral list.

Art 88. 1. The precinct electoral commission prepares two copies of the records of:

- 1) voting in the precinct on deputies elected from the district electoral list,
  - 2) voting in the precinct on deputies elected from the national electoral list.
2. Precinct voting records list the number of:
- 1) persons authorized to vote, i.e., persons on the voters' list,
  - 2) persons who have voted, i.e., persons who have turned in their ballots,
  - 3) invalid votes,
  - 4) valid votes,
  - 5) votes cast for the particular candidates.
3. The records also give the time that voting begins and ends and discuss the orders and decisions that are issued, as well as other important circumstances.



4. All persons who are members of the precinct electoral commission and are present when the record is prepared sign the record. The record is stamped with the stamp of the precinct electoral commission.

Art 89. 1. The chairman of the precinct electoral commission immediately sends, in a sealed envelope, one copy of every voting record in the precinct to the appropriate district electoral commission for the given voting precinct.

2. The State Electoral Commission establishes the procedure for submitting and receiving records.

3. The procedure and the principles of submitting voting results to the appropriate district electoral commissions in the voting precincts discussed in arts 22 and 23 are established accordingly by the minister that is the head of the Office of Maritime Economy and the minister of foreign affairs.

Art 90. 1. When the activities named in art 89 par 1 have been completed, the chairman of the precinct electoral commission immediately sends the voting documents to the appropriate local organ of the state administration with the general competence of the primary level. [These documents include] the ballots that have been turned in (the valid ballots and the invalid ballots separately), the voters' lists and the second copies of the voting records.

2. The captains of Polish ships send the documents from voting conducted in the precincts named in art 22 to the minister that heads the Office of Maritime Economy.

3. The directors of Polish diplomatic missions and consular offices keep the documents from voting conducted in the precincts named in art 23.

4. The officials named in pars 1-3 retain the electoral documents transferred to them until they receive orders from the Council of State. Access may be given to these documents with the approval of the Council of State.

## Chapter 12. Determining and Announcing Election Results.

Art 91. 1. On the basis of the records received from precinct electoral commissions in the electoral district area, the district electoral commission:

1) determines voting results for deputies elected from the district electoral list,

2) determines voting results within the electoral district for deputies elected from the national electoral list.

2. The district electoral commission examines the charges of delegates included in the records prepared by precinct electoral commissions. The commission immediately informs the appropriate electoral convention of the position that has been taken.

Art 92. 1. The district electoral commission prepares two copies of the records of:

- 1) voting for deputies elected from the district electoral list,
- 2) voting within the electoral district for deputies elected from the national electoral list.

2. The voting record gives the number of:

- 1) persons authorized to vote,
- 2) persons who have taken part in voting,
- 3) invalid votes,
- 4) valid votes,
- 5) votes cast for the particular candidates.

3. The record is signed by all persons who are members of the commission and are present during the preparation of the record. The record is stamped with the stamp of the district electoral commission.

Art 93. When voting results are determined, delegates may be present. They have the right to enter remarks into the record, giving specific charges. These charges are examined by the State Electoral Commission. The regulation in art 91 par 2 applies accordingly.

Art 94. 1. The chairman of the district electoral commission immediately sends, in a sealed envelope, one copy of the voting record for deputies elected from the district electoral list and the voting record within the district for deputies elected from the national electoral list to the State Electoral Commission.

2. The chairman of the district electoral commission likewise sends the other documents from the voting that has been conducted to the State Electoral Commission.

3. The State Electoral Commission determines the procedure for submitting the documents discussed in pars 1 and 2. The State Electoral Commission keeps these documents until receiving orders from the Council of State.

Art 95. 1. After receiving records from all district electoral commissions, the State Electoral Commission tabulates the official election results of the Sejm election by electoral district and from the national electoral list. Delegates may be present when the election results are tabulated. They have the right to enter remarks in the record, giving specific charges.

2. Those candidates for deputies that have received more than half of the valid votes, if at least half of those authorized to vote in the electoral

district have voted, are the elected candidates from the district electoral list.

3. Those candidates for deputies that have received more than half of the valid votes, if at least half of those authorized to vote have voted, are the elected candidates from the national electoral list.

Art 96. 1. Immediately after the results of the Sejm election have been tabulated, the State Electoral Commission makes them public via announcements in the mass media; it also issues certificates to the elected Sejm deputies of their election.

2. The announcement of the State Electoral Commission of election results is subject to publication in the MONITOR POLSKI, the official record of the People's Republic of Poland.

Art 97. The State Electoral Commission submits a report on elections to the Sejm at its first meeting.

#### Chapter 13. Holding a New Election.

Art 98. 1. A new election in the electoral district is ordered if fewer than half the voters authorized to vote in this district have participated in voting for the deputies elected from the district electoral list or if none of the candidates for the given mandate have received the required majority of votes.

2. A new election is ordered if fewer than half the total number of voters have taken part in voting for the deputies selected from the national electoral list.

Art 99. 1. The Council of State orders a new election upon the recommendation of the State Electoral Commission, designating election day as a day legally free from work that falls not later than 3 weeks from the day of the first election.

2. The Council of State resolution ordering a new election is issued no later than 10 days after the first election.

Art 100. 1. The new election is conducted according to the procedure stipulated in the herein law, except that:

- 1) the appropriate electoral convention may issue a new or altered list of candidates for the new election,
- 2) abbreviated deadlines for the electoral activities whose reiteration is indispensable are set up on the electoral calendar,
- 3) voting is conducted based on the voters' lists prepared for the first election,
- 4) voting is conducted only on the territory of Poland.

2. The new election is conducted only once.
3. Those deputy candidates who, within the framework of the given mandate, have received the most valid votes are the elected candidates from the district electoral list. In the event of a tie of valid votes cast for both candidates, the candidate in first place is considered the candidate elected to deputy.
4. Those deputy candidates who have received more than half the valid votes are considered the elected candidates from the national electoral list.

#### Chapter 14. The Validity of Elections.

Art 101. The Sejm ascertains the validity of the election of deputies on the basis of the election report submitted by the State Electoral Commission.

Art 102. 1. A protest may be lodged against the election of a deputy from the district or the national electoral list or against the validity of the election due to the violation of the regulations of the herein law concerning: the registration of voters' lists, voting, the tabulation of voting results or the tabulation of the election results, or due to the perpetration of a crime against the election, if this violation or crime may have a significant impact on election results.

2. A protest against the election of deputies from the district electoral list or against the validity of elections in a district may be lodged by a voter who, on election day, was listed on the voters' list in one of the voting precincts within this district.
3. Any voter may lodge a protest that is based on the charge of the commission of a crime against voters or that concerns the national electoral list.
4. The right to lodge a protest also belongs to the appropriate electoral convention in the event that the convention recognizes that the remarks of a delegate included in the electoral commission record warrant the lodging of a protest in accordance with par 1.

Art 103. 1. The protest is submitted in writing to the Supreme Court, not later than 7 days from the day that election results are made public by the State Electoral Commission according to the procedure outlined in art 96 par 1.

2. With reference to the voters from the voting precinct named in arts 22 and 23, the requirements named in par 1 are considered to be fulfilled if the protest was submitted to the captain of a Polish ship out at sea or the director of a Polish diplomatic mission or consular office.
3. The person that lodges the protest should state the charges in it and should present or give some indication of the evidence on which his charges are based.

Art 104. 1. The Supreme Court takes no further action on a protest lodged after the deadline specified in art 103 par 1 or by a person unauthorized to do so according to art 102.

2. If the protest does not fulfill the requirements specified in art 103 par 3, the Supreme Court designates a period of 7 days for the person lodging the protest to fulfill the requirements.

3. If the requirements for the protest are not fulfilled during the designated period, the Supreme Court may take no further action on it.

4. If the protest charges the commission of a crime against the voters, the Supreme Court immediately informs the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic.

Art 105. 1. The Supreme Court examines a protest in a body of three justices, appropriately applying the regulations of the civil proceeding code for a nontrial proceeding.

2. By force of law, the participants in the proceeding are: the voter or the electoral convention that has lodged the protest, the appropriate electoral commissions and the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic.

3. The Supreme Court renders an opinion on the protest case and presents it, together with the documents of the case, to the Sejm.

Art 106. 1. After examining the charges contained in the protest and the opinion of the Supreme Court, the Sejm makes a decision regarding the validity of the deputy's election or the validity of the election.

2. In ascertaining that the deputy's election was invalid or that the election was invalid, the Sejm also makes a decision regarding the holding of another election in the electoral district or from the national electoral list. The supplementary election is conducted to the extent of invalidity.

Chapter 15. The Termination of a Deputy's Mandate.

Art 107. 1. A deputy's mandate terminates due to:

- 1) death,
- 2) the resignation of the mandate,
- 3) the refusal to take the deputy's oath,
- 4) the loss of the right of eligibility,
- 5) removal by voters according to the procedure stipulated in the herein law,
- 6) the ascertainment that the deputy's election was invalid.

2. The Sejm ascertains the termination of a deputy's mandate.

Art 108. Voters may remove a deputy who violates the dignity of the deputy's position by his behavior, who evades the performance of his deputy's duties or who causes voters to lose confidence in him in another way.

Art 109. 1. A motion to remove a deputy elected from the district electoral list may be presented to the Sejm by the voters from the electoral district in which the deputy was elected, by the provincial authorities of the organization who proposed the deputy's candidacy or by the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

2. A motion is made by voters and upheld at the meetings of political or social organizations, at the meetings of the residents' self-government of city and rural residents or at meetings organized in plants. At every meeting, a record is made that states the number of voters present and the number of votes supporting the recommendation to remove the deputy.

3. A motion made by voters is valid if it has the support of at least 10 percent of the voters from the electoral district authorized to vote on election day.

4. A recommendation calling for the removal of a deputy should point out the charges and include a justification of them. Records from the meetings named in par 2 are attached to the voters' motion.

Art 110. 1. After examining the motion, the Sejm may pass a resolution taking the removal of the deputy to the voters.

2. When the Sejm passes a resolution taking the removal of the deputy to the voters, his work as a deputy is suspended until the results of voting on the motion are determined.

3. The Council of State orders voting on the matter of a deputy's removal to be held in the electoral district in which the deputy was elected, designating the date of voting on a day legally free from work that falls within 3 months of the day the Sejm passed the resolution.

Art 111. 1. The Council of State defines the procedure for conducting voting on the matter of the deputy's removal, applying the regulations of the herein law accordingly. The voting is conducted once.

2. The deputy is removed if the majority of voters participating in the voting vote for his removal. The Sejm ascertains the validity of the deputy's removal.

Art 112. 1. Voters from any electoral district may present a recommendation to the Sejm calling for the removal of a deputy elected from the national electoral list. Before such a motion is submitted to the Sejm, it should be subject to the rendering of an opinion by the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The National Council of the

Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth likewise may make such a motion. The regulations in art 109 pars 2-4 apply accordingly.

2. After examining the motion discussed in par 1, the Sejm may pass a resolution taking the removal of the deputy to the voters, at the same time defining the procedure for the revocatory proceeding.

#### Chapter 16. The Supplementary Election.

Art 113. 1. In the event that the mandate of deputy is not filled or that the mandate of deputy is terminated during a term, the Sejm may pass a resolution calling for a supplementary election.

2. The Sejm passes a resolution calling for a supplementary election in the event that:

1) in the Sejm, more than 23 mandates of deputies elected from the district electoral list are not filled,

2) in the electoral district, half the mandates are not filled.

3. A supplementary election is not held during a period of 6 months preceding the day the Sejm term ends.

Art 114. 1. A supplementary election is conducted according to the procedure and principles stipulated in the herein law within 3 months of the date that the Sejm has passed the resolution on conducting the supplementary election.

2. A Council of State resolution ordering a supplementary election is issued no later than 10 days after the passing of the Sejm resolution on conducting a supplementary election.

3. In ordering a supplementary election, the Council of State sets up the electoral calendar, in which it may define deadlines for the particular electoral activities that are shorter than those stipulated in the herein law.

4. Voting in supplementary elections is conducted only on Polish territory.

#### Chapter 17. Special and Concluding Regulations.

Art 115. 1. Costs associated with election are covered out of the state budget.

2. All correspondence and court and administrative proceedings associated with election matters are free from charge.

Art 116. 1. The local organs of the state administration with the general competence of the primary level ensure that the polling places for precinct electoral commissions have been made ready and that these polls are equipped with the necessary equipment and materials.

2. The appropriate local organs of the state administration with the general competence of the provincial level ensure the technical-organizational conditions basic to the work of provincial electoral conventions and district electoral commissions.

3. The administrative organs discussed in pars 1 and 2 may entrust the performance of the tasks defined in these regulations to units of the socialized economy.

4. The preparation of the polling places for the precinct electoral commissions appointed in the electoral precincts discussed in arts 20, 22 and 23 and the equipping of these places with the necessary equipment and materials are ensured accordingly by the commanders of military units, the captains of Polish ships and the heads of diplomatic missions or consular offices.

Art 117. The law dated 17 January 1976, the Electoral Law to the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland and the People's Councils (DZIENNIK USTAW No 2, item 15 and from 1984 No 8, item 32) loses legal force.

Art 118. The law takes effect on the day of its proclamation.

[signed] Chairman of the Council of State: H. Jablonski

[signed] Secretary of the Council of State: J. Szymanek

8536

GSO: 2600/824



POLAND

RELATIONSHIP TO CLASS-CAREER POTENTIAL TO FAMILY 'NEPOTISM' QUESTIONED

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 20, 19 May 85 p 5

[Text] It is a fact, proven many times, that in Polish society there is always a class-career differentiation in access to higher education at least with respect to some so-called elite professions. Moreover, among some groups of career professionals there is the phenomenon of inherited professions, a not-at-all recent development. As a result, the current Polish professionals can be divided quite clearly according to their social origins: professional or worker-peasant.

At the end of World War II, there were approximately 43,000 persons with a higher education. Hence the majority of the professionals educated in the Polish Peoples Republic, numbering substantially more than a million, are one or two generations removed from worker or peasant families. It seems that it is the professionals from the first generation who usually pass on their own level of education or even their own profession to their children if it is a prestigious and highly remunerative profession. This is confirmed by studies made by the Central Office of Statistics. At the same time it has been established that, for example, a child of a doctor has a chance 50 times greater than the average of becoming a doctor. For legal professions this index is 35, and for educators, it is as high as 80.

Making such professions hereditary often involves not only duplicating the specialty of the father or mother, but also a trend toward taking over from the parents the social field of activity and the aspiration to occupy their status in the clinic, higher educational institution, legal firm, or the stage, taking on their circle of patients or clients, etc. Here it is not possible to determine to what extent these phenomena are a manifestation of a true cultural inheritance based on an honest and conscious preparation of the child by the parents for fulfilling a professional role, and to what extent they are the result of nepotism, a case of supporting one's own. Experts cautiously indicate that the second case may be just as important and frequent as the first. Here it would be worthwhile to call attention to the fact that the professions mentioned above are universally acknowledged as being "free." A high social position, prestige, an attractive lifestyle, and sometimes (although not as often as is usually believed) also a lofty material position is attached to them. There is still another group of profes-

sional careers whose representatives are of worker-peasant origins for the most part. These are teachers, officers and priests, and what is curious is that the latter two groups belong to institutions that are hierarchic and are characterized by a high degree of formal discipline. I would be very glad to have an explanation of this pattern.

2950

CSO: 2600/829

POLAND

# INAUGURAL MEETING OF PRESS COUNCIL

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jun 85 p 1.

[Text] Members of the newly appointed Press Council at the Council of Ministers held their first meeting on 19 June.

The Council was set up in accordance with the press law. Its 58 members represent periodicals, press institutions and publishing houses with different ideologies, scientific and cultural institutions and professional associations. They include journalists, publishers, and political and social activists from central and regional institutions.

The meeting was attended by Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the government spokesman and the chiefs of the main press organizations in Poland.

M. F. Rakowski presented the main tenets of government policy in implementing the provisions of the press law. The government and the premier do not want the council to become in any way a rubberstamp body. Instead, Rakowski said, "We want it to contribute genuinely to the growth of the press' role in the development of socialist relations.

"Before the end of this month, the government will analyze the relationship between the state and economic administration and the press, with special emphasis on the question of access of the press to information and reaction to press criticism.

"The flow of information from state administration bodies to the press considerably increased of late. We are, however, dissatisfied with the quality of this information. There is too little substance and too much protocol in it. It deals with plans, programs and intentions but not with appraisals of their implementation. It is also a fact that, with the enactment of the press law, the state administration and various institutions began to react more often to criticism. However, the defense often concentrates on the weak points of the criticism and ignores the legitimate charges."

M. F. Rakowski confirmed the shortages of paper and of printing industry capacity. Not only the press, but also publishing houses have felt the shortages. The per capita paper consumption in Poland amounted to 35 kilograms

in 1983, compared to 91 kilograms in East Germany and 78 kilograms in Czechoslovakia. In this respect, Poland occupies 42d place in the world, 29th place in Europe and 6th among the Comecon countries.

The government has secured an increase in the deliveries of Soviet newsprint and earmarked \$2.5 million for the import of paper from the West. It also increased the allotment of paper to publishers by 2,000 tons while limiting the allocation originally destined for the state administration.

The government presidium will shortly examine a program for developing the printing industry for the years 1986-90. "I can assure you," Rakowski said, "that the government understands the gravity of your problems."

Other speakers submitted proposals aimed at raising the prestige of the media and regaining its credibility in the eyes of the reading public. They spoke with concern about the problems of journalistic ethics. It was suggested that individual papers and magazines should prepare their statutes defining the line of action of a given publication. The firm principle of freedom of the press must coexist with the equally firm principle of accountability for one's words. This applies to any publisher and every paper.

The council elected its presidium. Jozef Krolikowski (GLOS WYBRZEZA editor-in-chief) was elected chairman.

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POLAND

FRENCH FILM SPARKS DEBATE ON PRE-WAR ANTI-SEMITISM, CHURCH'S ROLE

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12 Jun 85 p 3

[Article by W. M.: "Down With the Jewish Commune!"]

[Text] Recently TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY joined the voices of protest against the anti-Polish campaign initiated this time in France by Claude Lanzmann's slanderous film, "Shoah." In TP columns, Wojciech Wieczorek's article<sup>1</sup> tried to defend the good name of Poland from the vile and fabricated accusations.

Having said this, you cannot at the same time forego mentioning a certain controversial formulation which Wieczorek's article contains:

"You cannot possibly question the occurrence of anti-Semitic attitudes in Poland and no one, in his right mind, is doing this. In the prewar period, those were the attitudes manifested by major nationalist circles, including, in particular, people connected with the Church or rather those that were arbitrarily referring to the Church."

If Wieczorek put a full stop after "including people connected with the Church," you could give up polemizing. However, the following part of the sentence--that tries if not to erase completely, then at least to weaken the significance of the sentence's beginning--compels you to remind the reader the anti-Semitism was by no means an unusual element of the Church's ideology during the two decades between World Wars I and II.

Let us take no account here of the fact that the Church was closely related to those "major nationalist circles." Let us confine ourselves to quote examples showing that anti-Semitism was by no means the slogan of irresponsible people who "arbitrarily" referred to the authority of the Church--as suggested by Wieczorek--but that it was an integral part of the propaganda spread by the Church press (frequently published by religious orders) and that, together with anti-Communism, it was part of the educational program of many Church organizations, from the Catholic Action under the high patronage of bishops, to so-called Church alliances and other devotional associations.

INFORMATOR ROZANCOWY [Rosary Directory] of March 1937 wrote that "the Jewry... that greatest enemy of Poland burns with hate for the Holy Church, which... prevents it from wiping out the Christian faith and dominating the world," in the editorial presenting the program of the organization called "Live Rosary."

Had "Live Rosary" been a minor Church organization, we could ignore its program calling for the struggle against the "Jewish commune." However, the so-called rosary movement, which was active practically in every parish, had altogether several million members, including a large number of children and youth.

Also, tertiary papers propagated anti-Semitism, skillfully related to anti-Communism:

"Who are to defend our youth from the demoralization and corruption spread by the Jewish commune if not we, followers of St. Francis," wrote RODZINA SERAFICKA [Seraphic Family], published by the Capuchins.

POSLANIEC SERCA JEZUSOWEGO [Messenger of the Heart of Jesus], a paper published by the Mission for Prayer, took the same tone:

"If we realize that the vast majority of Communist leaders are Jews, it will be clear to us that Bolshevism is the doing of Jews... working toward the annihilation of the Christian world and to the advantage of the enemies of the Church."

Of course, you can argue to what extent anti-Semitism was a clear indication of religious hatred which, after all, also embraced followers of other, non-Catholic Christian churches (to say nothing of the fiercely condemned free-thinkers), and to what extent it was, for example, an instrument in the realization of the slogan that a "Pole = Catholic," or a form of struggle against the radical workers' movement. However, no answer will change the fact that large Church organizations and their powerful press were propagating anti-Semitism. The above-mentioned Third Order (grey brothers) numbered over 200,000 people, while the Mission for Prayer had a membership of nearly 750,000. And yet, those Church organizations, which I am mentioning here by way of example, made up just a part of a long list, which included (parenthetically speaking, small) organizations active among the intelligentsia, and high (Marian Sodality) and higher education students.

Once I have mentioned education, it should be remembered that the Church used anti-Semitism as a tool in its struggle for establishing the denominational school in Poland.

PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI CHELMSKI [Chelm Catholic Review] thus wrote quite indignantly: "Let us only think, in school as it is today, a child of Catholic parents may share a desk with a Jewish, a Protestant or an Orthodox child."

Despite appearances, it is not only editors of small, devotional papers, but also well-known Catholic columnists and writers and the clergy who demanded religious segregation.

Fr. Jan Urban wrote in his work NA TEMATY WSPOLCZESNE [On Present-Day Topics] that "The good of Catholic children requires that they be protected from... comradeship with heretics, because such comradeship makes, to a large extent, for spreading religious indifference and is often a source of even greater corruption."

Fr. J. Jasinski's opinion on this matter, expressed in his elaborate essay entitled "For Catholic School in Poland," was even more direct:

"Jews share school desks with Catholics. Sometimes the percentage of Jews is quite high. The negative, sometimes downright destructive, influence of that element on the spirit and morale of particular grades and schools has been acknowledged many times, yet, within the framework of the present school system, the situation cannot be remedied."

The already mentioned Fr. Urban subscribed to that opinion, writing that:

"In many respects, our young generation has been absorbed by the Jews and has imbibed their lack of fundamental principles, disrespect for Christian culture and laxity of morals."

The above was a hint at the Polish intelligentsia who, in the majority, were imbued with the spirit of tolerance and anticlericalism. In general, however, the aim of all that propaganda was to convince the Catholic community that the Jews, as well as Protestants and members of the Orthodox Church, were bad and perfidious by nature, and thus deserving only contempt and hatred. (Today there is but a handful of Jews in Poland and therefore the Catholic opinion is being mobilized against non-believers, because atheism is now perceived as the main factor of the "demoralization of the individual and society.")

The demand for the establishment of religious education ("to protect the youth from religious and moral harm... caused by the Catholic and Jewish youth meeting," as reminded by the Czestochowa synod of bishops in 1936), and repeated by the Church authorities during the entire prewar period, was never conceded. Nevertheless, here and there, zealots were, on their own, imposing a religious segregation or so-called "desk ghetto" on Jewish students.

In 1931, the Katowice municipal council, under pressure from the Silesian Episcopal Curia, tried to introduce religious segregation in public schools.

Fr. A. Woycicki, Rector of the Stefan Batory University of Wilno, imposed the notorious "desk ghetto," insistently demanded by the University Church organizations, backed by the bishops.

An article is not a scientific dissertation, it obeys different rigors. That is why I end my cursory review by reminding the readers of the demand put forward in 1936 by the PRAD [Current] monthly, edited by Antoni Szymanski and representing the Union of Polish Catholic Intelligentsia. Namely, that the monthly proposed to deprive the two million Polish Jews of their citizenship and to evacuate them to the Soviet Union.

In a multinational country, worshipping various religions, as was the case with Poland before the war, animosities were inevitable. It seems that the anti-Semitic propaganda was listened to favorably here. However, the terrible ordeal of the Nazi occupation of Poland showed that, despite those animosities, the vast majority of Polish people were immune to the anti-Semitic venom. In times of trial, the Church rejected it as well.

I want to return to Wieczorek's article once again. He wrote that the wholesale "physical extermination of Jews" had caused "a moral and psychic shock to the Polish population, including anti-Semites." He reminded his readers that Poles had lent a helping hand to the persecuted, although in Poland, just as in the Soviet Union and unlike the occupied Western countries, "they risked facing the firing squad."

"All the same Poles did lend that helping hand, both spontaneously and in an organized manner (e.g., "Zegota," [a Council for Aid to the Jews, active from December 1942 until January 1945--ed. note], and that was of great importance, because the game involved the risk of death. Claude Lanzmann should know that Catholic parishes, convents, Church-run charity institutions as well as Catholic underground organizations were by no means at the bottom of the list of people engaged in that kind of activity."

That is true. Here you can only ask, what position did the French Church hierarchy assume toward the Nazi invader. This, however, is a separate subject,<sup>2</sup> which, if taken up, will certainly not bring honor to some dignitaries of the Church in France.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Kto byl zamieszany w kradziez zegarka" [Who Was Involved in the Theft of a Watch], TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 22, 2 June 1985.
2. The attitude of the Universal Church toward Jews also makes a separate subject. At any rate, you cannot forget that, for example, in the Middle Ages, the third Lateran Council of 1179 issued anti-Jewish decrees, while the fourth council (1215) ordered Jews to live in ghettos.

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POLAND

DRINKING AMONG BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS SAID INCREASING

LD112016 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] Warsaw, July 11--320,000 people were taken to drunk wards in Poland last year, 95 percent of them being forced to stay there until they sobered up, according to a report on the activities of sobering wards presented to a plenary session of the Government Anti-Alcoholic Commission yesterday.

The number of those handled by drunk wards clearly increased last year against the 1983 figure, especially among young women. The largest group among last year's drunks brought to drunk wards was composed of people at the age of 30-50 and mostly blue-collar workers (about 72 percent).

At present, there are in all 52 drunk wards with 2,000 beds in Poland instead of 76 provided for by the Anti-Alcoholic Law. Another 17 wards are planned to be built between 1985-1987.

The anti-alcoholic fund amounted to 6.3 billion zlotys in Poland last year, 5.2 billion zlotys accounting for voivodship funds. A total of 4.2 billion zlotys, 81 percent of the fund, was spent on anti-alcoholic activity last year.

A draft plan provides for an increase of anti-alcoholic funds to account for 1 to 1.5 percent of the proceeds from the sales of alcohol in 1986 and 1987, and to 2 percent in 1988-1990.

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POLAND

# TRADE AGREEMENT WITH ITALY'S FIAT

AU111537 Rome ANSA in English 1527 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] (ANSA) Warsaw, July 11--Fiat and the Polish automobile manufacturer "Pol-Mot" today signed an agreement here for relaunching further development of trade and industrial cooperation between the two sides which began back in 1965.

A high-level delegation from Fiat arrived here this morning to ink the accord. The group includes managing-director Cesare Romiti.

For the Polish side, Deputy Steel Minister Eugeniusz Ezatokowski and Deputy Commerce Minister Andrzej Dorosz here among those present at the signing ceremony.

Under today's agreement, Fiat will provide some 50 million dollars worth of machinery, servicing and drafting and technical assistance.

The first cooperation accord between the Turin-based company and Poland, signed in 1965, opened the way to the licensed production of the Fiat 125 and 126 models plus the "Polonez" for the logical market.

The Polish automobile industry currently produces around 260,000 "Polonez" cars a year while the Fiat 126 has just hit a peak of two million cars this year.

A reception will be given this evening for the Fiat delegation by Italian Ambassador Guglielmo Folchi and the group heads back to Turin tomorrow morning.

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POLAND

#### BRIEFS

PRIVATE ARSENAL SEIZED--An unusual discovery was made by officials of the District Internal Affairs Office in Radomsk Piotrkow Trybunalski Province. On 4 July, in a basement of one of the apartment buildings along 16 January St., police discovered a private arsenal of firearms. In a specially modified crate no less than six weapons were found. There were two 9 mm automatic pistols, a German "MP-40," and an English Sten; three pistols, including a Polish "Vis" 9 cal., German "Walther" 7.62 cal. revolver. The crate also contained magazines, a large amount of ammunition, and holsters--all in good condition and properly maintained. The owner of the basement is an 82 year old Radomsk resident who claims she did not know anything about the contents of the crate. It was initially established that the weapons were being stored by the woman's husband who died this past year. The District Internal Affairs Office in Radomsk is continuing its investigation of this unusual case. [Text]  
[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Jul 85 p 8]

KRAKOW WKO MEETING--The Provincial Defense Committee (WKO) met in Krakow yesterday. The Committee acquainted itself with the state of preparedness and progress being made in the fulfillment of defense-related tasks by "Spolem," the Provincial Farmers' Union, agricultural circles, as well as the Provincial Board of the National Defense League. The Committee made decisions designed to improve defense activities in these agencies. [Text] [Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 29 May 85 p 8]

WKO MEETING IN SIERADZ--The 24 June 1985 meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee (WKO) in Sieradz, presided over by its deputy chairman Colonel Henryk Szafranowski, was devoted mainly to a discussion of economic and defense problems. The meeting examined the state of the heating system in Sieradz, including technical aspects of the system's operation, and the economic effects of supplying heating fuel for operational central heating boilers. It was deemed to be advisable that a program should be drawn up for the integration of the heating system, including the liquidation of uneconomical and energy-wasting residential boilers. In addition, the WKO examined the complex problems connected with soil liming in Sieradz and recognized that the current state of affairs in this area is not completely satisfactory. In this regard, it recommended both administrative actions designed to achieve this year's quotas in soil liming and also longer-term problem-solving measures in this area. The WKO also approved its schedule of meetings slated for the second half of 1985. [Text] [Krakow GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 2]

POLISH-NORWEGIAN ARCTIC COOPERATION--Warsaw, 14 Jul--The Polish Academy of Sciences and the Oslo-based Institute of Polar Research have recently signed an agreement on further expansion of bilateral cooperation in research in the Arctic region. Under the cooperation scheme, Poland and Norway will exchange the outcome of scientific research and carry out joint works, including observation of magnetic phenomena and examination of ionosphere. The programme also provides for mutual visits of experts in the field. The Polish-Norwegian cooperation in polar research dates back to the early 1930's. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 14 Jul 85 LD]

ISRAELI CP SECRETARY VISITS--On 19 June candidate member of the Politburo, PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak met with David Khenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee, who was visiting Poland. During the course of an amicable discussion, information was shared regarding the most important problems in the operation of both parties. The status quo and future prospects for the successful development of cooperation between the PZPR and the KPL [Israeli Communist Party] were also assessed. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

JEWISH ORGANIZATION 'JOINT' VISITS--At the invitation of the Main Board of the Religious Association of the Mosaic Sect and the Main Board of the Jewish Socio-Cultural Society in Poland, members of the leadership of the Jewish charitable organization "Joint" visited Warsaw: Chairman Heinz Eppler and his wife, Vice Chairman Dr Saul Cohen, Vice Chairman Ralph Goldman and Director Dr Akiva Kohane. On 19 June the head of the Office for Religious Affairs, Minister Adam Lopatka received the members of the "Joint" leadership. Mozes Finkelstein, chairman of the Main Board of the Religious Association of the Mosaic Sect in Poland and Szymon Szurmiej, chairman of the Main Board of the Jewish Socio-Cultural Society in Poland, likewise were present. Cooperation of the "Joint" organization with Jewish organizations in Poland was discussed. The members of the "Joint" leadership paid homage to the heroes of the ghetto and met with the chief representatives of Jewish organizations in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL VISITS--Prof Dr Aleksander Fira, judge of the constitutional court of the SFRY, former chairman of the office for affairs of relations with the religious communities of Yugoslavia, visited Poland. He met at the Sejm with the director of the Sejm Chancellery, Minister Kazimierz Switala, and a group of deputies. He also was received by the director of the Office for Religious Affairs, Minister Adam Lopatka. Yugoslavian Ambassador M. Maksic took part in the meeting. A. Fira likewise met with the Chairman of the NSA [expansion unavailable] A. Zielinski and a group of judges and presented a paper at the Institute on the State and the Law on intended changes in the Yugoslavian political system. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

MESSNER HONORS KATOWICE PARTY SCHOOL--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of work at the PZPR Interprovincial Party School [MSP] in Katowice, a ceremony was held to hand over a banner awarded to the school by a resolution of the PZPR CC Politburo, in recognition of its services and achievements. The banner was given to MSP Director Dr Roman Grebosz by CC Politburo member, CC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski. He likewise extended best wishes and congratulations to the cadre and pupils of the school from the party leader, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, and from those members of the PZPR CC Politburo taking part in the ceremony: Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner and Jerzy Romanik. Best wishes and congratulations on the occasion also were extended by the representatives of the regional authorities and officials from other Polish provinces, the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] ZG [Main Board] and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], as well as by the consuls general of the USSR in Krakow, Georgij Rudov, and the CSSR in Katowice, Jan Kromka. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

FSM WORKERS HOST URBAN--Government spokesman Jerzy Urban met with the FSM [Small Passenger Car Factory] workforce in Bielsko-Biala. Minister Urban invited the workforce of the largest automobile industry enterprise to speak with him about the most vital international issues and Poland's most important socioeconomic and political problems. The government spokesman discussed these issues and then answered questions put to him by those assembled. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22-23 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNISTS VISIT--From 17-22 June, at the invitation of the PZPR CC, a study delegation of communist and workers party representatives from Bolivia, Dominica, Ecuador, Guyana, Honduras, Colombia, Costa Rica, Paraguay and El Salvador visited Poland. During the final part of the program for the visit, the delegation held a discussion with the director of the Office for Religious Affairs, Minister Adam Lopatka. At the conclusion of the stay, the delegation was received by CC Politburo member, CC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski, who represented the sociopolitical and economic situation of Poland and reported on the tasks confronting the party. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Jun 85 p 2] 8536

AUTOMOTIVE AGREEMENT WITH SFRY--The ambassador of the PPR Wiktor Kinecki was present, in the Yugoslav capital, at the signing of a 5-year agreement on cooperation among motor industry plants in programming production expansion and on mutual deliveries of vehicles and industrial coproduction units. The agreement includes provisions for the Yugoslav Ikarus plant to sell us 750 articulated buses for suburban transport, incompletely fitted out, which will be completed in Poland. They will buy from us, among other things 1,200 Jelcz trucks. The contract is worth \$150 million. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1700 GMT 5 Jul 85 LD]

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ROMANIA

ROLE OF PARTY IN LEADING REVOLUTION, BUILDING SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 85 pp 4-9

/Article by Dr Ilie Radulescu: "RCP As Leader of Socialist Revolution and Construction in Romania" /

/Text / Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The actual facts show that the party is very honorably performing its historical mission of leading the Romanian people on the path of socialism and communism, welfare and happiness, and national sovereignty and independence."

The Ninth RCP Congress was a historic event meeting the objective requirements of Romania's all-around progress. It was a landmark in the nation's socialist destinies, and it opened up entirely new prospects for its progress, civilization and sovereign independence in the world. Upon realistically reviewing the period that had passed since the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation of August 1944 and clearly evaluating the limitations, difficulties and errors of the period as well as its scientific progress, the Ninth Party Congress set new guidelines for Romania's development and opened the way to all-around development of the human personality and to exploitation of the superiority of the new social system.

Expressing the supreme will of the communists and the entire people, the RCP chose Nicolae Ceausescu as its chief, an outstanding figure of socialist Romania and of the present period and a brilliant political leader who has been making telling contributions to the theoretical foundations of the RCP and state policy, to the preparation and implementation of the specific programs for building the fully developed socialist society, to the modernization of Romania and expansion of its international relations, and to the continuing growth of its international prestige. In the 20 years he has been leading the party and the people, Nicolae Ceausescu's strong personality and philosophical and social-political views, the revolutionary courage and humanistic spirit that inspire him, and his tireless efforts on behalf of the nation's highest hopes and interests as a thinker and organizer of the innovations throughout all Romanian society have definitely left their impressive mark upon the whole effort of theoretical and practical construction that has been going on under the nation's enlightenment by the Ninth Party Congress.

Now that the fame of the great communist forum of 1965 is heightening patriotic pride in the great achievements of the "Ceaurescu Era" more and more, the originality of the theoretical and practical procedures devised by the congress and the scientific accuracy and realism of the RCP policy are even more clearly apparent.

It is a well-known fact, both nationally and internationally recognized, that in the years since the Ninth Party Congress the party has been making an extensive in-depth study of the far-reaching problems of the new developmental stage of socialist construction in Romania, of the processes characteristic of Romania's social development, and of the main features and highly contradictory trends of man's evolution in the present period, at Nicolae Ceaurescu's suggestion and with his telling contribution. Those analyses have led to a number of theoretical, ideological and practical conclusions about the party's strategy and tactics, national socioeconomic development, improved social organization and management, and development of the human personality. The original views and theoretical ideas developed in this historic period concerning the general questions of socialist construction and international affairs placed the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies on a realistic theoretical basis, helped to broaden the communists' and workers' political and ideological outlook, contributed to a better understanding of the nature and trends of the social phenomena, and enhanced the RCP's contribution to enrichment of the ideological treasury of the revolutionary movement and to the more effective advancement of the ideology of scientific socialism in the world.

#### Construction of the New Society As a Dialectical, Revolutionary Process

Nicolae Ceaurescu's designation of the fully developed socialist society as a strategic objective of the present stage of Romania's development is vital to Romania's overall progress in this period. As we know the victory of the new social system was identified for a long time in the communist movement primarily or even exclusively with establishment of socialist production relations and especially of social ownership of the production means. To be sure that revolutionary property reform is an objective requirement and a general law of transition to socialism. More than once Nicolae Ceaurescu has pointed out that construction of the new social order requires socialist ownership of the production means in both industry and agriculture and in all sectors of material production. Nevertheless the RCP general secretary believes that socialist society must be based upon strong technical-material resources and attain a high labor productivity, which are indispensable to growth of the material values available to the people and to active, economically effective and competitive participation in the international division of labor. He believes it must have the economic, social and organizational structures to provide for the widest possible development of science, culture and education, that it must create all conditions for formation of the new man and for all-around development of the human personality, and that it must develop democracy extensively by securing social management by the people de jure and de facto.

It is these requirements of the new order and these directions of Romania's development in the stage inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress that are reflected in the guidelines set for attaining the strategic objective of the present stage. In his Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of

1-2 June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu said, "When the 11th Party Congress ratified the RCP Program we said we intended to set the strategic objective of building the fully developed socialist society in consideration of all the social aspects, namely the material base, management and development of democracy, the growing importance of science, and ideological and political-educational work. We called Romania's future society 'fully developed' in order to forestall misunderstandings, neglect of any aspect of the activity, and the conclusion that in speaking of the developed socialist society we mean only or primarily development of the material base."

The principle of continuity of the revolutionary process is directly correlated with the concept of the fully developed socialist society. The Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, which began with the armed insurrection of 23 August 1944 organized and led by the RCP in alliance with other political forces as well as the army, marked the beginning of a period of radical revolutionary reforms in Romania during which the workers acquired political power, socialist production relations triumphed, exploitation and social and national inequalities were abolished, socialist principles of work and distribution were established, the national economy, science and culture made unprecedented progress, and a new quality of life was achieved. The RCP and state leader regards all these as manifestations of a long and far-reaching revolutionary process which is continuing into the present stage of building the fully developed socialist society and will undoubtedly be implemented in a higher historical stage in the construction of communism as the supreme goal toward which Romanian society is progressing in its objective historical evolution.

The concept of the continuing revolutionary process characterizing Romania's contemporary development is based upon materialist dialectics and the principles of historical materialism and scientific socialism, and it places the party policy upon a realistic theoretical basis allowing for the evolution of the social processes, for the inherent chronological ties between the productive forces and production relations and between bases and superstructure, and for the requirements of further improvement of material production, social relations, and the whole democratic system of social organization and management. It provides the theoretical basis for development of the party's social leadership and for consolidation of the state's role, it encourages the innovating approach to all questions of building the fully developed socialist society, and it demands constant attention to cultivation of the revolutionary spirit among the communists and the entire people, making it one of the most active forces of Romanian society.

#### A Scientific Strategy for Socioeconomic Progress

Provision for Romania's intensive and general economic progress on the basis of the most advanced gains of contemporary science and technology is one of the main components of the RCP policy of building the fully developed socialist society as it is set in Nicolae Ceausescu's works and in the party's program documents since the Ninth Party Congress. The historical merit of that congress is that it quite firmly raised the questions of more pronounced development of the productive forces, their balanced geographic allocation, and construction of a modern and highly efficient economy.

In view of the critical importance of material production to social progress and to consolidation of the nation's sovereignty, independence and defensive strength,



throughout these years the RCP general secretary has emphatically stressed the importance of modernizing the nation's productive forces, and that has greatly increased the industrial and agricultural outputs as well as those of the other economic sectors in a qualitatively superior way since the Ninth Party Congress. As contrasted with the past, industry has undergone a general, balanced development since 1965, providing for proportional growth of the outputs of both production means and consumer goods, priority development of the highly productive and more economically effective sectors such as electronics, electrical engineering, precision machinery, optics, program machine tool production, petrochemistry, fine synthesis chemistry etc., as well as production of consumer durables.

In these 20 years a modern national economic complex has been built that closely combines all the main industrial sectors, industry with agriculture, and those two basic economic sectors with transportation and the other economic sectors. It is a competitive complex placing Romania among the countries with the most dynamic economic growth. The fact is conclusive that machine tool production, electrical engineering and electronics are about 11 times greater today than in 1965, that 90 percent of the value of the fixed assets in the national economy today were placed in operation in 1965-1984, and that Romanian industry is supplying about 90 percent of the machinery and equipment for the investment program. All this has permitted intensive technical-material equipment of agriculture and transportation, mechanization of construction operations, and extensive projects of national importance, among which the Danube-Black Sea Canal is outstanding. Industry's contribution to the national income increased from 48.9 percent in 1965 to 63.3 percent in 1984. The national income has also increased, being 7 times greater in 1984 than in 1965, and workers' incomes as well.

This objective course of strong economic progress is being continued into the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and thereafter on the basis of the 13th RCP Congress documents, which specially emphasize intensive development of the productive forces and improvement of social and production relations on a new basis, with definite continuation of revolutionary social reform. Implementation of the congressional decisions will greatly enhance the people's welfare and continue on higher levels the process started by the Ninth Party Congress of developing and modernizing the national economy and of raising the nation to ever higher levels of material and cultural progress.

Nicolae Ceausescu's idea of improving production relations and social relations as a whole is of equal theoretical, political and practical importance to socialist Romanian society's development in the present historical stage. The necessary correlation of the productive forces with social and production relations is regarded as a comprehensive dialectical process and a purposeful social effort to bring about a balanced, proportional development of all sectors of the national economy; rational proportions among them and especially between industry and agriculture; sound distribution of the productive forces regionally according to economic and social criteria and that of the labor force among the economy, science and culture to secure the employment of most of it in material production; and rational organization and structuring of the whole system of production, distribution and sales of products and of the entire national system of uniform social organization and management. The party general secretary has pointed out the similarity of the two forms of socialist ownership, namely the entire people's ownership and cooperative ownership, and the dialectics of the relationship

between them, heavily emphasizing the need of protecting and developing both kinds of property because they are the material base of socialist and communist construction. He has drawn original conclusions about relating working personnel more closely to the productive socialist units through their interest in them as holders of social shares in enterprise funds, and he has placed the workers' economic incentive to produce better results in material production and sales of products by instituting the overall contract system of remuneration as well as a rational, balanced ratio between the highest and lowest incomes. He has promoted measures to stimulate economic relations between industry and agriculture and between city and village by basing delivery of agricultural products on economic principles by means of the system of contracting for and purchasing agricultural products, and he has generalized self-management and economic-financial self-administration throughout society by encouraging the workers to participate, as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the national wealth, in management of the economy and of socialist society as a whole.

### The RCP as the Vital Center of Construction of the New Order

Questions of the party's exercise of its leadership are central to Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and his rich conception of socialist revolution and construction. His ideological, theoretical and practical procedures since the Ninth Party Congress served to free the party's conception from narrow, dogmatic views and lent the party a scientific, revolutionary perspective both on its historic mission in the new developmental stage of Romanian socialism and on its internal structures and its relations with the state, with the mass and public organizations and other social bodies, with the working class and with the entire people.

In Nicolae Ceausescu's view, the RCP's political leadership of society is all-inclusive. It does not set itself above the state organs and other particular social bodies nor above the social classes, the state or society but operates within society as its vital center and a main motive force for social development. The party acts in close unity with the working class, the peasants and the intellectuals and with all workers regardless of nationality and the entire people. It constantly strengthens its ties with the masses and does its revolutionary work within the workers' collectives. It leads all socioeconomic activity and acts as a leading political force in society as a whole.

During the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress the RCP acquired a wealth of political, ideological, organizational and administrative experience that makes an active contribution to the treasury of scientific socialism and of contemporary social-political thought and action. As Nicolae Ceausescu commented, "In the revolutionary struggle and effort toward social reform of the entire nation and construction of the new order, the socialist order, the RCP has become an increasingly strong and united party, a true party of the masses, respected and trusted by the entire people."

After the Ninth Party Congress regular emphasis was placed on developing the role of advanced awareness, and the party made an extensive political-ideological and educational effort toward the entire people's indoctrination in the spirit of the socialist ideals and in revolutionary patriotism, since the RCP considers formation of socialist awareness indispensable to construction of the new order

and to full development of the human personality. In criticizing the tendencies to absolutize the theory that socialist awareness inevitably lags behind people's material existence because it is determined by it, the party general secretary pointed out that actually advanced socialist awareness is expected to stimulate society's material evolution and to spur mass participation in social activity and in the programs for national socioeconomic development. The existing social framework in the Romanian socialist order, which is itself in a constant process of improvement and historical evolution, and the new quality of society create subjective as well as objective conditions for advancement of the individual's creative power and for the all-around development of his personality. But those conditions, which are created and, I might say, multiplied with each stage of social development do not mean people's immediate transformation ipso facto. The human personality is not formed automatically. On the contrary, it takes the active and regular intervention of the educators under party leadership to form the new social awareness and to bring the individual up to higher levels of civilization, culture and morality.

In the RCP's view socialist education and socialist awareness require a sound knowledge of all that is productive in contemporary culture, science and technology and a complete mastery of the profession, as well as assimilation of the RCP's philosophical conception of the world and society (dialectical and historical materialism) and formation of an advanced civic attitude.

On the basis of the general conception of dialectical and historical materialism, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the need of constant attention to both material and cultural social development and to development of the role of the subjective, purposeful factors. In his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, the party general secretary said, "we must always bear in mind that the mode of thought and social awareness and the degree of development of science, education and culture are determined by the material base of society and the method of producing and distributing the material goods. At the same time, social awareness, science, education, culture and ideological and political-educational work play an important part in development of the productive forces. Both aspects of the activity interact in a dialectical unity and bring about further social progress, the people's greater welfare, and consolidation of national sovereignty and independence."

In accordance with the requirements of building the fully developed socialist society, of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, and of the individual's complete social and moral emancipation, in the last 20 years the party and state have promoted a policy of structuring scientific research, education and culture on a new and modern basis. In criticizing the cosmopolitan theories and the tendencies to look abroad for development of technologies, Nicolae Ceausescu, with great confidence in the Romanian people's creative power, has firmly directed the nation's efforts toward development of its own scientific research and opened up a broad field for the advancement of Romanian scientific and cultural creativeness. It is to the historic merit of the party and state leader that he has restored Romanian science and culture to its rights accorded it over the years by creators of universal values and directed the scientific, literary and artistic outputs along paths that will secure their full fruition and progress in the course of Romanian society's general development.

## Consistently Revolutionary Conception of the State, Democracy and Nation

As a true rational foundation of the whole theoretical and political structure, the original theory Nicolae Ceausescu developed in these years concerning the nature of political power under socialist Romanian conditions today is unquestionably central to his general conception. In the party general secretary's view, the radical revolutionary changes made in the productive forces, in the economic and class structure of society, and in the social relations among classes have directly affected the content of political power, the nature of the Romanian state and its functions, so that the description of the contemporary Romanian socialist state as a dictatorship of the proletariat is anachronistic and contrary to fact. As Nicolae Ceausescu commented, we must proceed from the fact that in Romania as in the other socialist states as well there are no longer any proletariat, exploiting classes or antagonistic social forces. On the contrary, when the Romanian proletariat gained political power and abolished all exploitation and oppression it became a new social class, a working class leading society, and an owner, producer and beneficiary of the national wealth jointly with the entire people. The Romanian socialist order permits all social classes and categories and all citizens regardless of nationality to participate effectively in political, economic and social activities and in management of society on all its operational levels. Accordingly we have to do with a new and profoundly democratic political power and with an original exercise of social management by the working people themselves in their social and national interests, characterizing the the Romanian socialist state as a workers revolutionary democracy.

Nicolae Ceausescu's idea about exercise of political power by the people and for the people and the nature of the Romanian socialist state was appropriately reflected in actual practice by the formation in those years of a true system of workers revolutionary democracy characterized by many forms of direct mass participation in management. The state's general activity, conducted on the principle of democratic centralism, closely combines uniform central social management with collective management, with the promotion of a broad operational autonomy of the local organs, and with a varied participation of the masses in management. The value of the democratic system created in Romania at Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal lies in the very fact that it effects an original collaboration among the state organs, the public organs and organizations, the forms of workers self-management, the workers collectives, and the citizens. Exercise of some of the state's functions jointly with the democratic bodies for self-management and self-administration reinforces the democratic character of the state and broadens its ties with the masses of workers and their opportunities to participate in the exercise of political power.

The main trend in Romanian state activity is further growth of the socialist state's role and of uniform social management on the basis of the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development, along with intensified and improved workers revolutionary democracy and the masses' increasingly active participation in the management of society and the state. On this subject, the Report to the 13th RCP Congress pointed out that "Improvement of the activity of the workers revolutionary democratic state and development of the system of workers democratic bodies in various sectors will lead to further development of the masses' active participation in management of the state and all socioeconomic activity and to increasingly broad democratization of Romanian society."

Evaluation of the nation as a major motive force for social-political development in today's world is one of the very valuable conclusions in Nicolae Ceaușescu's works, as well as emphasis on the fact that the nation, so far from being a historically outmoded community, has one of the most important roles to play in mankind's evolution in the present period and in the future. As contrasted with the various cosmopolitan and nihilist theories minimizing or denying the creative attributes of the nation, the RCP general secretary lent new dimensions to the concept of the nation, pointing out its lasting quality, its progressive role and the fact that under present-day conditions strengthening the nations and the independent national states is an important factor for social progress, the struggle against the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy, and development of new international relations based on equality, respect and every nation's right to free development according to its aspirations.

On this theoretical basis and in view of the fact that the nation as well as the national state have a vital social role to play for a long time both in the period of socialist construction and from the perspective of the advance toward communism, the RCP constantly emphasizes the material and cultural development of the nation and consolidation of its social-political unity as well as the unity and friendship of all workers regardless of nationality in the efforts toward the development and prosperity of the common fatherland, socialist Romania. The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for the Advance Toward Communism is improving the nation's entire material and cultural activity and further strengthening its unity and cohesion. It may be said that the Romanian nation has undergone an extensive process of development and consolidation since the Ninth Party Congress, a process originating in the RCP policy for Romania's intensive development on many levels and drawing its strength from the great successes achieved in the last 20 years. It is on the basis of those achievements that the Romanian nation's role as a motive force of social activity and of the fatherland's advance on the path of socialism and communism is growing, the nation gains prestige among the nations of the world, and it keeps increasing its contribution to the international exchange of values and to the progress of world civilization.

The wealth of theoretical, ideological and political work done since the Ninth RCP Congress by the party general secretary is of outstanding international significance by virtue of its example and its results. As we know, the role of ideology and advanced revolutionary theoretical thinking is growing more and more in the world of today despite the bourgeois political scientists' assertion about an alleged "disideologizing" of society. The scope of the worldwide revolutionary process, the diversity of socialist construction, the creation of a new and independent life in the developing countries, and the social struggles in the developed capitalist countries make in-depth theoretical analyses more necessary than ever, as well as some new conceptual principles to clarify the struggle for progress and social practice. And as we also know, various theories have appeared in the capitalist world in the postwar period that view human progress with scepticism, encourage the policy of force and dictation, apologize for capitalism and distort the truth about socialism.

All this brings out the international significance of the stands taken by the RCP general secretary to the effect that study of the characteristic phenomena of the contemporary world, of the worldwide revolutionary process, of the changes and

new trends in the communist and workers movement and in other progressive social movements, and of the problems of economic and social progress in the world is a constant necessity for the revolutionary struggle. They also demonstrate the necessity of overcoming any states of dogmatic isolation and any static ideas that the theory of scientific socialism was laid down once and for all by its founders. The facts show that revolutionary ideology is to be conceived in a process of constant evolution, and that its progress and that of dialectical-materialist thought require an effort toward analysis, synthesis and theoretical generalization on the part of every communist party, along with enrichment of the constructive dialogue with democratic, progressive ideas from all over the world. That is what Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes and what the RCP has undertaken since the Ninth Party Congress, combining the effort toward development of internal theoretical work and ideological training of the communists and masses of workers with constant active participation in the dialogue and comparison of ideas in the contemporary world, in the spirit of its international responsibility for the socialist cause and for the future of society, peace and mankind.

### Socialist Romania's Fundamental Principles and Permanent Foreign Policies

On Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and with his telling contribution, since the Ninth Party Congress the RCP has been making a productive effort toward analysis and theoretical generalization of the general phenomena characterizing man's evolution in the present period and of the trends and main processes in international relations. The theoretical ideas and original political concepts developed in this period by the party general secretary concerning the nature of the present period, the principles of international relations, the role of nations and of national sovereignty and independence, the new international economic order, achievement of disarmament and assurance of peace, democratization of international affairs, the new unity of the communist and workers movement and of all progressive forces, etc. have lent a scientific approach to Romania's international activity and have led to further expansion of its relations with the states of the world, to its greater prestige, and to enrichment of the theory of contemporary international relations as well. It may be quite rightly said that since the Ninth Party Congress and with Nicolae Ceausescu's impressive theoretical, political and practical contributions, the party's and state's conception of foreign policy and socialist Romania's diplomacy have been established on all their component levels.

That which lends substance, permanence and effectiveness to socialist Romania's foreign policy is the fact that it is based upon the vital national interests of the Romanian people and of other peoples as well, and upon consideration of the objective factors of social development, the factors that permanently affect the course of world history. As we know, in making the point that the period of socialist construction in Romania is, on the world level, the period of mankind's transition from capitalism to communism, of the overthrow of imperialism and colonialism, of the full assertion of the nations and national sovereignty and independence, and of a radical technical-scientific revolution, the RCP general secretary stressed the critical role in determining the course of man's history that is played by such progressive political and social forces as the socialist countries, the international communist and workers movement, the national liberation movements, the peoples' struggle for national sovereignty and independence, the developing and unaligned countries, the struggle for social emancipation of peasants, youth and women, and the mass movements for disarmament and peace.

Hence the party's and state's permanent policy of solidarity, collaboration and cooperation with all socialist, developing and unaligned countries and of collaboration with the other countries regardless of social order. Hence their international solidarity and collaboration with communist and workers parties everywhere, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with the national liberation movements, and with all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist political parties and forces. Hence their active solidarity with the peoples' struggle for peace and disarmament, and the firm confidence of the RCP and Romania in the ability of the peoples and the masses to check the perilous course toward a nuclear catastrophe and to safeguard peace. Hence the consistency with which Romania promotes the new principles of relations among states in its foreign relations and seeks to generalize them in international affairs, that is the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights, mutual benefit, noninterference in internal affairs, settlement of disputes by political means, and every people's right to free development without outside interference. And it is clear that promotion of these points of foreign policy is one of the main reasons for the great international prestige gained by Romania and Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and an outstanding personality of the world of today.

The fact is conclusive that Romania has considerably expanded its ties of many kinds with other countries in the last 20 years. It maintains diplomatic relations today with 140 states compared with only 60 in 1965 and economic relations with 155 states compared with 98 in 1965. It participates in the activity of the United Nations and in that of more than 50 governmental and nongovernmental organizations, wherein it makes widely appreciated contributions to the solution of the major problems facing mankind today.

Settlement of international disputes solely by political means and negotiation is a basic principle of Romanian foreign policy that has been established in theory and consistently promoted by the party and state in these years. Total abolition of the policy of force and threat of force in international affairs and settlement of disputes among states by negotiation alone are regarded by the chief of the Romanian state as objective requirements for peace and collaboration among peoples. The policy of force and especially wars can bring no viable solutions to international problems. On the contrary, they generate feuds and aggravate misunderstandings among states, cause irreparable human and material losses and seriously impair civilization and man's progress. And so as Nicolae Ceausescu says, however difficult and prolonged the negotiations may be, they are necessary and they alone can lead to viable and mutually acceptable solutions and help to strengthen security and peace. To carry out this principle, Romania consistently militates for elimination of the hotbeds of conflict and war that have developed in various regions of the globe and for political settlement of any disputes by negotiations among all parties concerned, while working with every resolve for observance of every people's right to free and independent development with no outside interference.

Securing the fundamental right of people and nations to life and peace is central to the theory of international relations established by the RCP in the period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress. In bringing out the characteristics of nuclear war, which endangers the very existence of life on earth, human life itself, and civilization on earth, the party general secretary drew the conclusion



of great humanistic as well as political and strategic significance that the vital problems of the present period are stopping the armaments race, especially the nuclear one, starting disarmament and securing a lasting peace in the world. In his view the existence of the means of destroying life itself on earth necessitates complete abolition of war from society and promotion of peaceful cooperation among states. It is to the everlasting credit of the chief of the Romanian state that he has taken the problems of disarmament, peace and security to the center of the peoples' attention, placed them on a moral footing, and started many actions to carry out these primary aims of mankind.

Peace is indivisible and the concern of all humanity. That fact is basic to the RCP's conception of concerted action by the politicians, chiefs of state, the masses, the democratic forces and the peoples to stop the armaments race, achieve disarmament and secure peace. While emphasizing the part to be played in this by the chiefs of state, governments and parliaments, the president of socialist Romania also shows firm confidence in the mass movement for peace, which has covered all continents, regarding it as a powerful contemporary force that can stop the dangerous course of events, restore the policy of detente and collaboration, and protect peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu's theories on eliminating underdevelopment and building a new world economic order based on equality, justice and mutual benefit are closely related to the general conception of international relations in the contemporary period. International economic relations must be restructured and placed on an entirely new basis due to the necessity of promoting the states' sovereign equality not only politically but also economically and to the requirements of all states' socioeconomic development and of eradicating the vestiges of colonialism and the policy of imperialist domination accounting for the underdevelopment of the great majority of nations and the division of the world into rich and poor countries. The chief of the Romanian state regards the international economic problems and those of eradicating underdevelopment and building a new international economic order as global ones concerning all mankind and soluble only with the input of all states via an active and generalized international dialogue. For that reason Romania favors real negotiations between the developed and developing countries concerning contemporary socioeconomic development as a whole; a general program to aid the states' efforts to eliminate underdevelopment and, in that connection, to find a global solution to the problem of the developing countries' debts; restructuring of the monetary and financial system, providing for all states' participation with equal rights in the international financial organizations' activities; and all countries' unrestricted access to modern technologies and to scientific and technical advances. Romania is convinced that global solution of the world's economic-financial problems and construction of a new international economic order are indispensable to resolution of the current economic crisis and to the stability and balanced development of the world economy, which are vital both to every people's economic and social progress and to the policy of detente, collaboration and peace.

The period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress stands out in the nation's history as one of great qualitative innovations both in actual socioeconomic construction and social activity as a whole and in theoretical and political-ideological work, brilliantly bringing out Nicolae Ceausescu's impressive and noteworthy contribution to the determination and practical application of



Romania's domestic and foreign policies. Filled with gratitude for all that he has been doing for Romania's all-around progress on the paths of socialism and with patriotic pride in socialist Romania's place and role in the world today, the Romanian workers and entire people received with justified confidence and great inspiration Nicolae Ceausescu's return to the high office of president of Romania. This, in addition to his return by the 13th RCP Congress of November 1984 to the supreme office of RCP general secretary, guarantees Romanian society's steady advance on the paths of socioeconomic progress marked out by the Ninth Party Congress and on the paths defined by the 13th Party Congress, which will secure Romania's rise to higher levels of prosperity and welfare and will bring it new friends in the world and new achievements in keeping with the national talents, aspirations and will of the Romanian people as heroic builders of socialism and communism.

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ROMANIA

SIGNIFICANCE OF NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

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[Article by Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita: "Historical Significance of the Ninth RCP Congress"]

[Text] This year is the 20th year since the Ninth RCP Congress, an event of outstanding significance that inaugurated the brightest and richest period in accomplishments in the Romanian people's history of many millennia.

The period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress has gone down forever in the entire Romanian people's awareness as the Nicolae Ceausescu Era, and it lent an unprecedented vitality to all socioeconomic activities. The period is brilliantly marked by the unmistakable stamp of the thought and action of Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, a brilliant revolutionary militant and inspired patriot, a far-seeing political leader and an imposing figure in international politics who has dedicated his whole life and work with heroism and exemplary devotion to the supreme ideals of national freedom and independence, to the triumph of the socialist revolution and all-around progress of Romanian society, and to collaboration and peace in the world.

An Extensive Process of Radical Revolutionary Reforms

The Ninth Party Congress, held in Bucharest from 19 to 24 July 1965, was a historic event with profound effects upon promotion of the party's social leadership and higher expression of the party's moral and political unity with the people. By its whole preparation and procedure and by the decisions and policies it made, the congress inaugurated a new and distinct period in socialist Romania's development.

Upon in-depth analysis of the course taken in building the new order in Romania, the Ninth Party Congress established the victory of socialism in cities and villages, the conclusion of the process of generalizing socialist production relations throughout the economy, and the permanent abolition of the exploiting classes and exploitation of man by man. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the Ninth Party Congress, "The complete triumph of socialism in city and village and the abolition forever of exploitation of man by man are the RCP's greatest political victories since it gained power. They fulfill the

dreams for which the best sons of the working class and the Romanian people fought and died.

The completion of the socialist agricultural reform, a radical revolution in the lives of the peasants and villages, resulted in formation of the uniform socialist economy in Romania as a lasting foundation of the extensive gains to be made by the Romanian people under the RCP's leadership in the years following the Ninth Party Congress. The worker-peasant alliance, the firm foundation of the socialist political system and of the whole new order, was raised to a higher level. A broad field of application was opened up for the laws of socialism, for uniform, scientific and planned management of all economic and social activities, and for better exercise of the party's political leadership in society. New prospects were outlined for the socialist nation's prosperity and for development of science, education and culture.

Meanwhile the RCP clearly realized that the formation of the uniform system of socialist production relations, the progress made in developing the productive forces, and the radical changes made in the social structure and the whole face of society were but a stage and a beginning of the whole process of complete fulfillment of the principles and ideals of the new order. In its progress in building the new life from a largely agrarian national economy, an underdeveloped industry and a backward agriculture, Romania had a long way to go in order to close the gaps that separated it from the economically advanced countries and to enable socialism to make comprehensive and thorough use of its innovative and revolutionary capacities.

The highly complex and critical economic, social, political, ideological and cultural problems and tasks that confronted the party and the people under the new conditions urgently demanded the broad, comprehensive and in-depth approach to development of the new order, firm elimination of the underestimates of the modern, peak branches of industry that had appeared in a certain period, regular introduction of the latest scientific and technical advances into the economy to meet the standards of the scientific-technical revolution, and consistent promotion of Romanian scientific research and thought.

The election of Nicolae Ceausescu, a brilliant political thinker and revolutionary leader, an implacable foe of routine and isolation, and a consistent promoter of the new and an approach based on experience and the urgent requirements of national progress, as head of the party was a political act of overwhelming importance to the future of socialist and communist construction in Romania. Under the impetus of his revolutionary thought and action the Ninth Party Congress as well as the subsequent congresses and national conferences made extensive innovations in the conception and practice of building the new order. As a result, at the time of the Ninth Party Congress, the ratification of the new Constitution, and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Romania actually entered upon a period of radical qualitative revolutionary reforms in all areas. First it went through a stage of consolidation of socialist construction, wherein the party and state specially emphasized the basic industrial sectors (machine building industry and its modern subsectors, chemistry et al.), the technical-material base of agriculture was developed, the allocation of the productive forces throughout the country was better balanced, steps were taken to expedite introduction of scientific and technical advances into the economy,

education and scientific research work were reorganized, and an intensive effort was made to perfect social organization and management, to extend socialist democracy, to carry out the principles of social ethics and justice, and to educate and mold the new man.

In view of the progress that had been made, in 1969 the 10th Party Congress concluded that the necessary conditions had been created to begin a new, higher and objectively necessary stage in the nation's continuous progress, namely the stage of building the fully developed socialist society. The 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th party congresses and the national party conferences in 1972, 1977 and 1982 as well as Nicolae Ceausescu's entire theoretical works and practical activity provided for the determination and further development of the party's strategy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's gradual advance toward communism, as well as in-depth reexamination of the concepts and theories regarding the nature and tasks of the inevitable and objectively necessary stages and of the nation's rise to new heights of progress and civilization, in close correlation with realistic and stimulating evaluation of the existing resources and potentials and with consideration of the people's advanced traditions and the opportunities offered by development of the scientific-technical revolution, by the acquired experience, and by the advances in contemporary knowledge.

Each of the stages traversed has presented the party, the working class and the entire people with highly responsible tasks demanding high organizational, political, technical, professional and scientific qualities that can secure the nation's steady advance to new levels of progress and civilization. In pointing out that the overthrow of the oppressor classes and the acquisition of power constituted only one stage, albeit a very important one, in the revolutionary struggle Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The subsequent stages were no easier. On the contrary, some of them were even more difficult than the struggle for power because they required intensive preparation and some major revolutionary reforms in all society."

In the course of those stages and on the basis of the party's decisions and policies, radical changes were made not only in the technical-material base of society and in the level, content and quality of the productive forces but also in the nature of the social and production relations, thus consolidating the socialist production method and considerably raising all society's level of material and cultural civilization. The strategy for this development (brilliantly embodied in the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, ratified by the 11th RCP Congress in 1974, and in the party general secretary's thought and action) has been and is based on the necessity of bringing the country's development up to a level comparable with that of the economically advanced countries in a relatively short time, and on the fact that the only way to do so is to develop some modern and highly effective productive forces.

Pronounced emphasis upon socialist industrialization through provision for accelerated development based on a high rate of accumulation, formation of an advanced, competitive economy in a relatively short time, harmonious development of all areas of the nation, a dynamic balance between industry and agriculture and between agriculture and the other sectors of the national economy, priority on the

intensive, qualitative aspects, expansion of domestic raw material and energy resources, priority development of the peak industrial sectors and subsectors, emphasis on development of science, and training and improvement of personnel -- all those have been emphatically confirmed by the Romanian people's brilliant results in the last 20 years.

A review of the course taken brings out by virtue of the facts the great progress the Romanian people have made in national socialist development and in raising the standards of civilization and the people's material and cultural welfare, as well as the correctness of the party policy of national industrialization, intensive agricultural development, and consistent promotion of internal efforts, scientific and technical advances, and human knowledge in general. As Nicolae Ceaușescu pointed out, "We must fully realize that if we had not accomplished industrialization and socialist development of agriculture, and if we had not based those great achievements on the latest advances of science, education, culture and human knowledge in general, the Romanian people would have remained in their former state of backwardness. We had to make efforts, and those efforts were the only way to bring Romania up to its present position. And it will be the only way in the future to the victory of communist society and to a worthy, free and independent life for the Romanian nation!"

By applying the generally valid truths of scientific socialism to the specific realities of Romania and the period in which we are living, and by taking consistent action in close coordination with those realities and with their requirements and laws, the party and its general secretary have been making telling contributions to the stimulation of revolutionary thought and practice in Romania and to the enrichment of the legacy of knowledge and historic creativeness of the present period with new ideas, theories and concepts.

#### A Brilliant Contribution to Social-Political Thought, Theory and Practice

By improving upon the best traditions of Romanian social-political thought and proceeding consistently from the requirements of revolutionary dialectics, in this period and with the party general secretary's encouragement and decisive contribution the RCP has clarified such vital problems as the definition of the strategic stages of construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism; the concept of the fully developed socialist society; the roles of socialist awareness and of formation of the new man; the dialectical relationship among production, education and scientific research; the place and role of the scientific-technical revolution in accelerating Romanian society's all-around progress and its rise to new heights of civilization and culture; further improvement of the nature, role and functions of the state, of self-management, and of workers revolutionary democracy; the role and characteristics of the socialist nation; the nature, role and methods of resolution of social contradictions under socialism; the nature, characteristics, major trends and contradictions of the period in which we are living, etc.

A natural and necessary dialogue has been instituted with history viewed uniformly and comprehensively as the history of development of the productive forces and social relations, as the history of the class struggles and struggles against oppression and foreign domination on behalf of national liberation and independent development, as the history of the constant confrontation of the old with the

new, and as the history of the peoples' struggle to defend their own national existence. In the light of the Marxist-Leninist conception of the world and life, important conclusions were drawn from the historical analysis concerning the role of the masses and the working class in creating history and the particular importance, under the present conditions, of revolutionary political awareness and organization in solving mankind's great problems.

The RCP has been specially emphasizing the soundest possible knowledge of the facts and the multitude of processes, phenomena and trends peculiar to the present period, of the wealth of varied experience acquired in construction of the new order in various countries, and of prospecting the future as well, which has become a subject of regular and serious investigation, and truths that are often forgotten or underrated have been revaluated accordingly. New theories and conclusions have been posited that are of inestimable value for enriching the treasury of revolutionary theory.

The outmoded theories have been subjected to strict critical examination in close confrontation with the standards of experience, and the whole process of socialist construction has been reviewed from a new perspective suited to the Romanian realities and the contemporary requirements. Taking its inspiration from the analysis free of any prejudgments of the actual facts and from the inexhaustible storehouse of scientific knowledge and generalized contemporary revolutionary experience, the RCP has launched a fresh trend of thought through its general secretary's direct contribution that is foreign to dogmas, oversimplification and inflexibility.

The RCP's contribution to in-depth study of the problems of relationships between the general and particular, the national and international, and the domestic and foreign in building the new order in the present period is of particular importance. Human society's objectively necessary advance toward ever higher peaks of progress and civilization and the new order, with a number of characteristics, laws and principles in common, are nevertheless achieved under a great variety of particular conditions by the will and action of the progressive and advanced revolutionary forces in each country and are the purposeful work of each people.

The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu regard socialist construction as a dynamic, radically innovating and revolutionary task that cannot be forced into particular patterns or rigid models. It entirely excludes the possibility of universally valid models that can provide ready-made answers to the many questions that arise in each country in each stage of development. On the contrary, the construction and continuing development of socialist society require consistent promotion of the new and the permanent presence of active and responsible initiative and historical creativeness, providing a broad field and unlimited possibilities for mobilizing the entire people to purposeful creation of their own future under party leadership. In this vast undertaking any disregard of the general laws and principles of socialism or of the particular facts can cause difficulties and serious damage.

In its policy of broad receptiveness devoted to Romania's guidance along new paths of progress and civilization, a policy consistently promoted for the last 20 years, the RCP has always realized that internal efforts are critical to socialist and communist construction, as well as the most rational use of resources,

rational distribution of the national income between the accumulation fund and the consumption fund, intensified domestic research work, constant attention to recruitment of personnel essential to all fields, and unification and mobilization of all of society's creative forces along with promotion of extensive international collaboration based on equity, mutual benefit, and respect for national sovereignty and independence.

The dialectical unity of the general and particular, the national and international, and the domestic and foreign accordingly requires the specific-historical approach, on the principles of the revolutionary theory and with a creative spirit, to all problems of building the new order, since in this way each revolutionary party contributes its own solutions and experience to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice.

The RCP's enormous creative capacity is reflected particularly in its theoretical treatment and practical solution of the problems in connection with construction of the fully developed socialist society. The fundamental principles of the fully developed socialist society and the courses of action to carry out this strategic objective are fully described and determined in the RCP Program. In view of the historical stage in which the new society is being constructed in Romania, the 13th RCP Congress set the main goals on which the party's and the entire people's efforts are to be primarily concentrated in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and thereafter up to 2000 in order to accomplish the objectives of the third stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society.

The RCP and its general secretary regard the fully developed socialist society as a higher and objectively necessary phase of Romania's advance toward communism. The RCP's strategy for building that society is of a pronounced integrating nature, uniformly guiding the people's efforts toward continuation in depth of the revolutionary reforms in all socioeconomic activities, toward accentuation of the intensive factors, qualitative aspects, balance, efficiency and rationality of socioeconomic development as a whole, and the role of socialist democracy, and toward development of the roles of science, education, culture and political-educational work, all in a purposeful process conducted by the RCP on a scientific and democratic basis and with the workers' direct responsibility strengthened by further consolidation of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration. In bringing out the purposes and implications of the party's strategy for building the fully developed socialist society Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We sought to determine the strategic objective of building the fully developed socialist society in consideration of all the social aspects, i.e. the material base, management and development of democracy, the increasingly important role of science, and ideological and political-educational work. We called the future Romanian society 'fully developed' in order to avoid misunderstandings, neglect of any aspect of the activity, and the conclusion that by the developed socialist society we meant only or primarily development of the material base."

The content and characteristics of the concept of the fully developed socialist society provide the party, the entire people, and social-political thought and practice with a broad field for responsible commitment and creative historical innovation. It is helping to particularize and enrich the theory and practice

of socialist and communist construction creatively in correlation with the Romanian realities and the demands of the present period, and it is proving very fertile in contemporary thought and in the discussions and confrontations going on today concerning the major questions of socioeconomic development. Accepted by the entire party and people, this concept is stimulating and directing the masses' creative energies toward rapid and harmonious socioeconomic progress for the nation, consistent application of the socialist principles and values, and the workers' greater material and cultural benefit.

In the years since the Ninth Party Congress, in view of the masses' critical role in social development and the need purposeful, organized and most effective involvement of the people in the vast undertaking of building the new order, the party and its general secretary have devised and promoted in practice a uniform, comprehensive and highly articulated conception for placing socialism on a thoroughly democratic basis in an appropriate organizational structure. The main significance of the inner aspect of construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism and that of workers revolutionary democracy lie in government of society by the people themselves in freedom, self-determination and the spirit of the party general secretary's appeals, which keep pointing out that socialism is the purposeful work of the people, built with the people and for the people, and therefore "We must make every effort to secure the people's direct and democratic participation in social management."

A comprehensive system of socialist democracy, unique of its kind, has been created and is operating more and more efficiently as an embodiment of the revolutionary thought and action of the party and its general secretary and of creative application of the general truths of scientific socialism to the particular conditions under which the new order is being built in Romania. It harmoniously combines direct with representative democracy and the needs of scientific organization with those of the masses' direct involvement in all fields and stages of making, approving and applying decisions and of making and implementing party policy. Marking a higher developmental level of socialist democracy, the transition to a new quality in management of the socialist units in the form of workers self-management and its material support, economic-financial self-administration, provide a broad field for use of the workers' huge creative potential in preparing and approving decisions, in good management of the portion of the national wealth entrusted for administration, and in further improving socioeconomic activity as a whole.

Questions of the state and the nation have had a special place in the documents of the congresses and national party conferences for the last 20 years and in Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works as well. The fact has been stressed that the conditions of socialist construction are increasing the state's role further and considerably broadening its functions in organization, planning and management of the national economy on behalf of national progress and for the entire people's benefit.

Experience and the demands of practice have fully confirmed the viability of those views. On the basis of the conclusions drawn from the acquired experience and analysis of the problems presented by Romania's present stage, as well as the heavy demands of Romania's future development, the 13th Party Congress very emphatically stressed the objective necessity of further increasing the socialist



state's role in the future in the planning, organization and uniform management of all economic and social activity on the basis of the Unified National Plan, the need of harmoniously combining the activity of the state organs with that of the organs of workers revolutionary democracy and of correlating the principle of uniform management of all sectors with the extensive initiative of the masses, the collectives, and the workers councils on the principle of democratic centralism, and the necessity of basing all socioeconomic activity squarely on the principles of self-management and self-administration and of further improving all management and planning activity as well as the system of socialist democracy to meet the demands of the new stage that Romania has begun.

The in-depth analyses that led to rejection of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to definition of the Romanian socialist state as one of workers revolutionary democracy are invaluable contributions to the enrichment of the treasury of revolutionary theory and practice concerning the role, nature and functions of the socialist state. While summarizing the radical changes made in the nature and functions of the Romanian socialist state, the concept of the workers revolutionary democratic state also reflects the RCP's basic aims of further consistent democratization of state activity, increasingly close integration of the state in society, and more intensive development of the role and participation of the masses in all management activity and in that of defense of the gains of socialism and of national sovereignty and independence.

A new conception with profound practical implications has been promoted to the effect that the party exercises its function as a leading political force via the active and direct involvement of the communists and the party organs and organizations in the great task of building the fully developed socialist society and via its integration with the masses of workers and further consolidation of its unity with the people. A broad conception of the role of the party as the vital center of society and a force mobilizing the entire people's creative energies to the cause of socialism and communism has been determined and consistently promoted, overcoming the limitations of the views of the party merely as an avantgarde. In this spirit the party has been consistently emphasizing consolidation of its ranks and its unity, improvement of its working methods and approach, reinforcement of permanent and regular control of fulfillment of its organs' and organizations' decisions, and further development of its internal democracy, as prerequisites indispensable to its leadership in society.

In view of the need of keeping up the party's active, innovating and revolutionary spirit and its theoretical, ideological and political-educational work, the 13th Party Congress directed all party organs and organizations to be constantly guided by the revolutionary conception and to always act in the revolutionary spirit in order to eliminate all that is old and no longer suited to the present stage.

In the years after the Ninth Party Congress and in the best tradition of Romanian socialist thinking, Nicolae Ceausescu fully substantiated the progressive role of the nation in the contemporary world, pointing out the fact that for a long time the nation has provided a broad field for development of the productive forces and of economic, social-political and cultural activity. He also pointed out the new qualities of the Romanian socialist nation and demonstrated the great importance of their consolidation and development to the all-around progress of

Romanian socialist society and its advance toward communism. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "There is every reason to expect that as it acquires new characteristics and qualities, the nation will continue to exist as an important factor for international collaboration and peace in communist society too. Accordingly development of national pride and socialist patriotism is a vital factor in the struggle for socialism, peace and international collaboration."

The complete and final solution of the minorities problem in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary conception and the guarantee of fully equal rights for all workers regardless of nationality are among the great gains of Romanian socialist society and of the last 20 years. The RCP and its general secretary regard development and consolidation of these historic gains and reinforcement of the unity of all Romanian citizens and the entire people as vital requirements for Romania's progress on the path of socialism and communism and its rise to new heights of progress and civilization.

In the view developed by the RCP in those years, the process of building the fully developed socialist society is inseparable from consistent promotion of the new in all activities, from identification, responsible analysis, and prompt solution of social contradictions, and from further improvement of the new order as a whole. The scientific treatment of the contradictions arising in socialist society's evolution brings out once again the great sense of responsibility the party displays in its capacity as the vital center of the new order and its ability to understand in depth and master the dialectics of socialist construction. Contrary to the views limiting the origin of contradictions to subjective or chance causes, the party and its general secretary consider the law of conflict of opposites inherent in social progress and objective, and it inevitably and manifestly operates in particular ways in the progress of socialist society too, and in its advance toward communism. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The dialectical law of the conflict of opposites or contradictions also operates in socialism, and it undoubtedly will operate in one way or another in communist society as well. Contradictions exist and will continue to arise in any society. They cannot be resolved by any negative attitude but by study and understanding of their causes and by purposeful action on that basis to eliminate the old situations and boldly promote the new." The new order enables all workers and the entire people to share purposefully in resolution of the contradictions in the interest of harmonious and all-around social progress, freedom and justice and to the material and cultural benefit of all members of society.

Accordingly the party views the new order as in a revolutionary form of organization and development. In the dialectics of the new order the gradual quantitative gains are necessarily interrelated with radical qualitative innovations. The qualitative shifts and changes the party strategy has introduced since the Ninth Party Congress and the whole process of building the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism determine a scientific, innovating view of the revolutionary process. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "In general the revolution and the process of revolutionary social reform are not over as soon as political power is acquired. Acquisition of political power is a vital factor but it is only one stage of the struggle for the ideals of social justice and equity and for the victory of socialism and communism. The revolutionary process will go on in communist society too, and actually it will never end."

On the trail blazed 20 years ago, the 13th RCP Congress marked Romania's transition to the third stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. The strategic objective of this stage calls for higher development of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, the fullest possible coordination of various sectors and of the productive forces with social relations, and a better quality of life and work in all socioeconomic sectors.

In the next five-year plan and on to the year 2000 the Romanian people's activity will be concentrated on consolidation of all results obtained, reinforcement of Romania's position as a medium developed country, transition to a new and higher stage of its economic and social development, and definite continuation of revolutionary social reform. By the year 2000 Romania will be a fully developed socialist country in its industry, agriculture, education, science and culture and in the people's general standard of living and civilization. In this way Romania will conclude a whole era of revolutionary development, permitting increasingly extensive promotion of communist principles of distribution, work and living in Romanian society.

By virtue of the decisions it approved and the inspiring prospects it opened to socialist Romania, the 13th RCP Congress is going down in the nation's history as a new and brilliant reflection of the development of the RCP's role as the vital center of socialist Romanian society and as a force that is uniting, mobilizing and guiding all of the nation's creative energies to Romania's advance toward ever higher levels of progress and civilization.

#### Romania's Prestige and Role in International Affairs

The period inaugurated by the Ninth Party Congress was also characterized by extensive innovations in the party's and state's international policy, as Romania was emerging in those years as an increasingly active and dynamic presence in the contemporary world. The brilliant Romanian proposals, Nicolae Ceausescu's impressive activity on behalf of the noble cause of peace, socialism and the people's freedom and independence, and the bold ideas and concepts advanced on the most burning questions of the present period continually enhanced Romania's prestige and the respect it enjoys in the world.

The guidelines set by the Ninth RCP Congress and by the subsequent congresses and national party conferences with Nicolae Ceausescu's direct and cogent contribution very clearly reveal the inseparable dialectical unity between the constructive work done internally and the party's and state's international policy. In view of the fact that socialism and peace are inseparable and that the nation's rise to the heights of socialist and communist civilization is closely bound up with promotion of widespread collaboration and cooperation with all other states and with the assurance of all peoples' peace, freedom and independence, the RCP and socialist Romania under President Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership have been making a worldwide effort to unite all the revolutionary, progressive and advanced forces and the peoples everywhere in order to secure a climate of peace, cooperation, and good will and to resolve all the complex problems of the contemporary world by negotiation.

The foresight and vitality of the party's and state's foreign policy, the realism and thoroughly constructive nature of their basic positions and advanced

initiatives, and the firmness and consistency of their actions in support of democratic solution of the great problems that are facing mankind contributed to the steady expansion of Romania's relations with other states of the world, and Romania is now maintaining diplomatic and economic relations with more than 150 states on all continents. Relations with all the socialist countries were continually strengthened, with special emphasis on expanded collaboration with the neighboring countries. The party and state have been taking very firm action to strengthen and develop collaboration and solidarity among all socialist countries and settle existing differences among them, on the premise that their unity is vital to socialist construction in every country, to the greater prestige and power of socialism, and to the policy of disarmament, peace and collaboration. Meanwhile they have been developing relations with the developing, unaligned, and small and medium countries intensively, believing that strengthened solidarity and collaboration of those countries is highly important to the policy of independence, detente and peace in the world. And in the spirit of peaceful co-existence, they have also been expanding relations with the developed capitalist countries and with all states of the world regardless of social order. Socialist Romania has been basing all its international relations firmly on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, full equality of rights, non-interference in other states' internal affairs, abstention from use or threat of force, and observance of every people's right to self-determination.

The RCP has carried on the glorious traditions of the Romanian workers movement under its general secretary's leadership and with an innovating conception of international solidarity, widely developing relations with the communist and labor parties, the socialist and social-democratic parties, the national liberation movements, and the progressive parties in the developing countries, and with the democratic parties and political forces and other parties and organizations as well, considering this a real contribution to consolidation of friendship and collaboration among all people's of the world and to the victory of the policy of disarmament and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu together with Elena Ceausescu made a great many official visits to countries on all continents in the period following the Ninth Party Congress, and many chiefs of state, party and government visited Romania in the same period. The conversations held and the documents signed on those occasions qualify as important acts of foreign policy, both bilateral and multilateral, with particular implications for promotion of the new principles of international relations and for encouragement of the efforts toward united actions of the peoples, states and masses in favor of collaboration, cooperation, detente, disarmament and peace.

The ideas, opinions and theories formed by the party general secretary, such as those concerning the content, characteristics, main trends, contradictions and major problems of the present period, the new dimensions of peace and war, the need of respecting national sovereignty and independence and all the fundamental principles of international relations, the role of the small and medium states, the role of the nation, cessation of the armaments race and achievement of disarmament, especially nuclear, democratization of international affairs, the critical role of the peoples and masses in the struggle for disarmament and assurance of peace, etc., have been formulated in a realistic, thoroughly substantiated, and uniformly articulated doctrine reflecting the deepest aspirations of the peoples and the advanced forces of our time and lending Romanian international activity morality, flexibility, realism and a wide reception in contemporary political thought and practice.

On the basis of such profound, systematic and comprehensive analyses, the party and its general secretary have been emphasizing the particularly difficult and complex problems of the period, especially those caused by the escalation of the armaments race, especially the nuclear one, and the grave dangers to the peoples' lives and peace, to all civilization, and to the future of the planet that are involved in that escalation. It is to the great historic credit of the RCP and President Nicolae Ceausescu to have soundly and comprehensively demonstrated the fact that the vital problems of the present period are cessation of the armaments race, and the nuclear one above all, the start of disarmament, and assurance of a lasting peace in the world. So far from confining themselves to stating and demonstrating this fact, Romania and its president have been militating, in the course of all bilateral actions and in the international forums through their specific proposals and initiatives, against the dangers of the huge accumulation of weapons existing in the world and of the particularly serious situation created in Europe in this respect.

To this end Romania has been steadfastly advocating real and sincere negotiations conducted with a high sense of responsibility in order to conclude accords that will meet the peoples' expectations and lead to cessation of the armaments race, especially the nuclear one, so that the European nations and the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO will meet, confer and actively help in one way or another to find solutions for the success of the negotiations in Geneva concerning nuclear and space weapons and for the conclusion of adequate accords. Romania is also emphasizing development of collaboration in the Balkans and formation of a zone there free of nuclear weapons and foreign bases. It is supporting formation of such zones in other regions of Europe and the world as well.

Romania resolutely advocates abolition of the use or threat of force and settlement of all conflicts and disputes by negotiation alone. Meanwhile Romania considers it necessary for every effort to be made to resolve the economic problems and those of underdevelopment and to establish a new international economic order capable of securing the economic and social progress of all states and especially that of the developing countries.

In the view of socialist Romania and Nicolae Ceausescu, solution of the great problems of today's world requires the active participation of all states regardless of size or social order in international affairs, and especially that of the small and medium, developing and unaligned countries, which are directly concerned in a policy of collaboration, independence and peace.

The whole international activity of the RCP and the state is based on their clearly substantiated confidence that by taking united action the peoples and the progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere can check the dangerous course of events and secure the progress of the policy of disarmament, independence, security and peace.

The noteworthy revolutionary innovations and the historic gains made in the last 20 years both internally and internationally and the bright prospects opened to Romania emphatically attest the truth that, as Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The Ninth RCP Congress will be entered in golden letters in the history of Romania."

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CSO: 2700/164

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW CHIEF EDITOR--Comrade Ion Strugariu, member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, has been appointed chief editor of the newspaper SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. His predecessor, Emil Marinache, has received another assignment. [Text] [Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian May 85 p 44]

CSO: 2700/180

YUGOSLAVIA

VISIT OF FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT

Talks With Kurtesi

LD110713 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT  
10 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Ilijaz Kurtesi, President of the SFRY Assembly, had a meeting today with Louis Mermaz, president of the French National Assembly, who arrived in Yugoslavia yesterday on an official visit due to last for several days. They appraised Yugoslav-French relations as traditionally good and friendly and said that highest-level contacts had made a particular contribution to this over the past years. A particular characteristic of Yugoslav-French relations is the intensive cooperation between the two assemblies and their working bodies.

However, the stable development of political relations, it was noted at today's talks, is not accompanied by any significant expansion and enrichment of economic cooperation despite the existing opportunities.

Views were exchanged in a cordial and friendly atmosphere on a large number of questions of the two countries' internal development and on bilateral relations and international situation.

Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the SFRY Assembly, spoke about Yugoslavia's economic development and economic relations with foreign countries, laying stress on our resolve to ensure a more rapid rate of growth of the economy by carrying out the long-term economic stabilization program. We appreciate the way France has from the start adopted a positive attitude in connection with our need to overcome foreign liquidity problems, said Kurtesi.

The assembly president and Committee Chairmen Dr Miran Meja, and Aslan Fazlija replied to a large number of questions put by French Assembly President Mermaz on such matters as cooperation with the EC, relations in the Mediterranean, development of self-management, and the tasks of the SFRY Assembly.

Emphasizing the traditionally good relations between the two countries, Louis Mermaz said that Yugoslavia and France have very similar views on many aspects of international relations, especially the development of underdeveloped countries.

This morning Louis Mermaz, president of the French National Assembly, laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier on Mount Avala.

#### Confers With Planinc

LD121422 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0930 GMT  
12 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)--Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, today received Louis Mermaz, president of the French National Assembly, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the president of the SFRY Assembly.

Dr Miran Mejak, chairman of the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, and Dominique Charpy, French ambassador to the SFRY also took part in the conversation, during which stress was laid on friendly ties and comprehensive cooperation which were developing successfully between the two countries. The most topical questions in the field of international relations were also discussed during the meeting. East-West relations received particular attention in this connection. It was stressed that both France and the SFRY are interested in intensifying the process of relaxation of tension in the world and at the same time to the significant contribution which nonaligned countries and the European Community could make to efforts to promote peace and cooperation was underlined.

During the meeting Louis Mermaz showed interest in certain aspects of the SFRY's internal development. He also conveyed cordial greetings to the president of the Federal Executive Council from Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic and from Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, to which Comrade Planinc replied in a similar manner.

#### Meets Vljakovic, Zarkovic

LD121734 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 12 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)--President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Radovan Vljakovic and President of the French National Assembly Louis Mermaz expressed in their talks here today unqualified support to the efforts of countries and liberation movements in southern Africa to preserve their freedom and independence.

Mermaz--who is visiting Yugoslavia as guest of the Federal Assembly--and Vljakovic discussed the international situation with special reference to East-West relations and the focuses of crisis in the world, especially



in southern Africa. They noted that the main source of all troubles confronting countries in southern Africa is the aggressive policy of the racist South African regime, which uses every means to destabilize neighbouring countries.

The distinguished French visitor today also met President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Vidoje Zarkovic. They assessed the traditionally good and friendly relations between socio-political organizations in the two countries as an important factor of their overall relations. That was why they found further strengthening and deepening of these relations to be in the interest of both sides.

Earlier today, Louis Mermaz visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Centre in Belgrade and laid a wreath on Tito's tomb.

CSO: 2800/374

YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB DISCUSSES IMPROVING USSR-PRC TIES

LD142128 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 85

[From the "Radio Newsreel" program with Sonja Badel]

[Text] In the international political arena the public's attention has been attracted by the Sino-Soviet talks in Moscow at the vice-premier level. Thus, the Chinese and Soviets, in spite of all their differences, are gradually improving their relations, Sonja Badel stresses: The meetings between Chinese and Soviet [word indistinct] at an increasingly high level are ceasing to be sensations. It is obvious that Beijing and Moscow have come to realize that the tension in bilateral relations has not benefitted either of them and that open dialogue should not be broken off, even when it does not produce the necessary results for complete normalization and improvement of relations.

In the sphere of economic relations the latest meeting between the vice premiers of the two governments, Yao Yilin and Ivan Arkhipov, yielded results satisfactory to both sides. An agreement on economic and technical cooperation for the next 5 years, whose value exceeds \$5 billion, was signed. The Soviets finally got the opportunity they have waited several years for: to take part in the reconstruction and modernization of the Chinese enterprises which they built in the 1950s at the time of great Sino-Soviet friendship. They got the chance which China, with its economic opening-up toward the world, first gave to its Western partners. In its endeavors to develop balanced and diverse economic cooperation with the world, there is nothing more natural for China than to do this with its large neighbor as well. This time round it will not lead to economic or political dependence, but can certainly stimulate an improvement in the overall atmosphere for constructive talks on political subjects, especially international ones, on which profound differences exist between Beijing and Moscow.

These talks have been left to the Sino-Soviet consultations which, since 1982, have been held twice a year in Beijing and Moscow in turn. Even though they have not so far yielded any real results in removing the obstacles to a complete normalization of relations, any move in any sphere of mutual relations makes the atmosphere more favorable even for the most difficult political talks. Certain personnel changes have been carried out in Moscow which could make political dialogue easier. Andrey Gromyko's departure from the post of foreign minister is one of these moves. Unlike

Gromyko, who in large part created and conducted Soviet foreign policy for the whole period of cooled relations with China, the new figure will certainly find it easier to turn over a new leaf and implement the desire expressed at the highest level for an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations.

It has also been observed that Qian Gichen, the chief Chinese negotiator in the consultations, is with Yao Yilin in Moscow, while his partner, Ilyichev, is not in the Soviet delegation. This could mean that in the next round of consultations Qian might have a new interlocutor. Since the very start of the negotiations Chinese figures have been saying (?unofficially) about Ilyichev--with full respect for this Soviet sinologist--that their task is merely to maintain dialogue and not to arrive at solutions. Despite the fact that several more favorable circumstances have come about for the successful continuation of the consultations, it is clear that the solving of the familiar contentious issues in bilateral relations has an international dimension, so that even with the best will of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership, they cannot be solved quickly. The Chinese are aware of this, too, and regardless of the fact that they are still making a complete improvement of relations with the Soviet Union conditional on alterations in its foreign policy, a Soviet-Chinese rapprochement and an expansion of their cooperation are certainly underway.

CSO: 2800/374

YUGOSLAVIA

DATA ON KOSOVO PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN 1984

[Editorial Report] An article in the 25 May 1985 Pristina Albanian-language daily RILINDJA (page 7) reports that last year the Kosovo LC accepted into membership 113 Montenegrins, 3 Croatians, 6 Macedonians, 118 Moslems, 721 Serbs, 2,710 Albanians, 1 Hungarian, 38 Romanies, and 28 Turks, as well as 15 who declared themselves Yugoslavs, and 14 others. This allegedly brought the ethnic structure of the party to 5.35 percent Montenegrins, 2.76 percent Moslems, 22.51 percent Serbs, 66.91 percent Albanians, in addition to marginal representation from other groups.

It said that most of the 3,456 basic LC organizations in Kosovo have between 20 and 30 members, but a few large organizations have over 150 members. At the beginning of 1985 Kosovo LC membership totaled 100,561 with an increase last year of 3,768, 2,688 of whom were young people, thus bringing the number of persons under 27 years of age to 38,055 or 37.85 percent of the party membership. Students in the LC number 13,589, workers 27,805, farmers 12,013, and technicians and engineers 4,869, and teachers 10,669.

In regard to the number who left the LC in Kosovo last year, the 1 July 1985 issue of RILINDJA reports (page 5) that 296 were expelled, 290 erased from the register, and 31 left voluntarily; most were workers (189) and young people (160); moreover, 257 were Albanian, 29 Serb, 7 Montenegrin, 2 Moslem, and 1 Romany. Party warnings were given to 456 members last year. Most (i.e., 104) who left the party did so because of "passivity," 39 left because of some crime or legal violation, 30 were removed because of disrespect for the LCY program, 26 for reasons of national intolerance, and 19 for "forming groups."

CSO: 2800/378

YUGOSLAVIA

GRACANIN EXPLAINS SHORTER MILITARY SERVICE PROPOSAL

AU092028 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jul 85 p 5

[Report by Branka Kaljevic]

[Excerpts] In the assessment of Colonel General Petar Gracanin, the envisaged amendments to the Military Obligation Law are not particularly extensive, but they are very important.

In addition to the two key changes--the shortening of the military service, and the further improvement of the system of recruiting and manning of the Armed Forces--one should also regulate military registers better, and more precisely define the rights and obligations of those subject to military duty who stay abroad.

Nevertheless, Gracanin said, the basic reason because of which the Federal Executive Council is proposing these changes is essentially to harmonize the system of military obligations with the decision of our society to socialize the defense matters in keeping with the level of development of our sociopolitical system and the growth of the defense capability of society.

Speaking about the views and assessments which guided the proposers of the law reducing the duration of military service, Gracanin first said that the military political situation and the forecasts of its development do not present any particularly favorable conditions for a shortening of military service. However, Gracanin said, even until now we have not determined the length of military service exclusively according to the military political situation in the world. Our present determination is made possible by the further modernization and development of the armed forces and the like, in addition to a number of overall defense preparations of all the defense factors.

"The transition to a 12-month military service, as regards the Yugoslav People's Army, implies the existence of a strong cadre nucleus in the Yugoslav People's Army, an incessant building and improvement of armed forces mobilization, better practice and fuller training of war-time units and their combat readiness..."

If adopted, the proposed law would refer only to the soldiers who will enter service after it comes into effect, and this is expected to be in December this year. To be more precise, all the soldiers who happen to be serving Yugoslav People's Army at the time will serve their military service according to the law now in force.

After the introductory speech on this subject, the committee began a discussion in which the delegates expressed their observations and proposals in connection with the solutions offered.

#### Great Interest in the Law

According to Anton Turnher (SR of Slovenia), the bill has caused great interest in that republic. It has been assessed that the proposed solutions constitute a step forward in socializing defense and protection. It is also significant that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, at the initiative of the committee, Runher said, made the bill an unclassified document, lifting the strictly confidential classification from it.

Asked by delegates where the military service can be served in Yugoslavia, Lieutenant General Novan Vucinic replied that no innovations are expected in that part of the law. We believe, he said, that there is no other properly qualified organization but the Yugoslav People's Army where military training could be carried out.

At a press conference held before the committee session, journalists were also informed that the extraterritorial principle of the military service will continue to be applied and that every unit will be Yugoslav in its composition. This remains within the power of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. It was said, however, that the possibility exists for the best--aktivists, workers, or youths--to be allowed to serve the military service in the territory of the republic where they have been recruited.

The committee concluded that the procedure of adopting the law should be completed within the time foreseen, so that the law may come into force on 1 December this year at the latest.

CSO: 2800/374

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

LEADERS CONGRATULATE U.S. OFFICIALS--Belgrade--On the occasion of Independence Day, the U.S. national holiday, Radovan Vlackovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a telegram on behalf of the SFRY Presidency to President Ronald Reagan with cordial congratulations and best wishes for the prosperity of the friendly American people. On the occasion of the U.S. national holiday, Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the SFRY Assembly, has sent congratulations to Thomas O'Neill, speaker of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, expressing best wishes for the prosperity of the American people. Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent the following congratulatory message to U.S. Vice President George Bush: "It is my special pleasure, on the occasion of your national holiday, Independence Day, to send you cordial congratulations and best wishes for the prosperity of your country and your personal happiness. My recent visit to your country of which I have the best memories has convinced me once again of our common orientation to, and lasting interest in the further advancement of comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation between the SFRY and the United States." [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jul 85 p 5]

MAMULA RECEIVES SPANISH OFFICIAL--Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, received General Jose Andres Jimenes, director general of armaments and material in the Spanish Ministry of Defense, in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense today. General Jimenes is heading an Army delegation on a friendly working visit to our country and with the Armed Forces. A meeting between Admiral Mamula and the guest from Spain took place in a cordial atmosphere and focused on the promotion of relations and cooperation between the Armed Forces of the two friendly Mediterranean countries. The reception and talks also were attended by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, deputy federal secretary for national defense, and Julian Ayesta Prendes, Spanish ambassador to Yugoslavia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 11 Jul 85]

ALGERIA'S BRAHIMI RECEIVES KOVACEVIC--Algiers, 13 Jul (TANJUG)--Algerian Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi today received member of the Yugoslav Government Zivorad Kovacevic, who is currently here to attend a session of the Yugoslav-Algerian Joint Committee for Economic, Scientific, Technical and Cultural Cooperation. Brahimi and Kovacevic stated that new contacts between the two countries have recently been established in

several important fields--energy, agriculture, industrial cooperation and cooperation at the local community level. Substantive talks on new investment projects are currently underway. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1540 GMT 13 Jul 85]

FRENCH AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Belgrade--Yesterday Radovan Vlackovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received the credentials of Dominique Charpy, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the SFRY, with whom he then held a friendly talk. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 85 p 7]

NEW FLIGHT ADMINISTRATION DIRECTOR--At its session today the Federal Executive Council relieved Jordan Faganel from the post of the director of the Federal Flight Control Administration upon the expiration of his mandate and appointed Viktor Zupancic as the new director. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1407 GMT 11 Jul 85]

MOJSOV RECEIVES PEREZ DE CUELLAR--Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)--Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, today received Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general who is on an official visit to Yugoslavia as a guest of the Federal Executive Council. The talks stressed the role of the UN in overcoming the present complex international situation, and in particular the efforts made to that end by the nonaligned countries. A reference also was made to the activities marking the 40th anniversary of the UN's founding. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 85]

ZARKOVIC GREETES MONGOLIA'S BATMONH--Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today sent a telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], on the occasion of the Mongolian People's Republic national holiday. The telegram contains cordial greetings and best wishes for new successes in socialist construction and for the further overall prosperity of the friendly Mongolian people. The telegram also expresses satisfaction on the successful development of cooperation between the LCY and the MPRP and between the two countries, as well as the conviction that it will continue to develop in the interest of the two countries' peoples, peace, and world socialism. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 11 Jul 85]

BELGRADE PUBLIC ORDER STATISTICS--Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)--In the first 6 months of this year the situation in Belgrade as regards public peace and order was more favorable than in the same period last year despite the fact that the number of offenses rose by 2.4 percent. This is primarily due to the increased activity on the part of the services of the city secretariat for internal affairs. As was heard at the joint session of the all three chambers of the Belgrade City Assembly, there was no increase in the number of offenses of political nature while such offenses as writing hostile slogans and possessing material of hostile content were



fewer in this period. According to half-yearly figures the number of reported criminal acts in the city was 19,780, which is 5.5 percent down on the same period last year. It is of particular importance that after a number of years the number of criminal acts whose perpetrators remained undiscovered fell by as much as 12 percent. Unfortunately the number of cases of economic criminal acts exceeded 2,000 and is over 80 percent up on the same period last year. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 11 Jul 85]

ZARKOVIC CONGRATULATED BY CASTRO--Belgrade--Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, continues to receive congratulations in connection with his assumption of office as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The telegram received from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, expresses the "sincerest congratulations and wishes for a continued development of cooperation and friendship for the good of the parties and peoples of Yugoslavia and Cuba." [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 85 p 6]

LABOR, HEALTH DATA--According to a report for 1984 of the Federal Committee for Labor, Health, and Social Welfare, the number of workers hired in the socialized sector last year was 260,000, or an increase of 2 percent, the number of trainees hired was over 70,000, the number who got employment in the private agricultural sector was 35,000 or an increase of 7 percent. However, the number seeking employment increased by 7 percent and now totals 970,000. The number of unemployed Yugoslavs residing abroad is over 60,000, while 42,000 Yugoslav workers returned from abroad. In regard to public health, infant mortality increased from 29.9 percent in 1981 to 31.7 percent in 1983 [figures as published], infectious diseases in certain parts of the country are increasing, tuberculosis remains at a very high level (about 74 cases per 100,000 inhabitants), while the volume of preventive measures is stagnating or declining, especially vaccinations and systematic checkups. The amount of money allocated for health protection from the national income declined from 7.70 percent in 1975 to 4.70 percent in 1983 and was expected to be even lower in 1984; investment for public health accounted for 1.7 percent of total investment in 1975 and for 0.7 percent in 1983. [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 85 (DELEGATSKE NOVINE supplement) pp 12-13]

CIVIL DEFENSE DATA--According to Lieutenant-Colonel General Slavko Maricevic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, there are about 2,650,000 draftees [obveznika] in civil defense units and staffs. There are more than 300,000 draftees in first-aid teams, the Red Cross organization, and both professional and voluntary firefighting units, [so] there is a total of about 3 million members of the civil defense system, or 13.4 percent of the total population. General-purpose units in local communities and organizations of associated labor account for 60 percent of all civil defense units; this is considered favorable because the center of civil defense is in the basic cells of our sociopolitical system. In the last several years considerable progress has been made in training civil defense units and staffs. [Excerpt] [Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jun 85 p 6]